NOTES ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SHAKESPEARE PLAYS AND POEMS

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NOTES ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SHAKESPEARE PLAYS AND POEMS

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BY

BASIL E. LAWRENCE, LL.D.

'If circumstances lead me, I will find
Where truth is hid, though it were hid indeed
Within the centre.'

Hamlet, Act II. Scene ii.

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INTRODUCTION

In my University days I was secretary of a small club of undergraduates who met once a week to read and discuss the Shakespeare plays. At one of our meetings a member brought forward what to me was the astounding suggestion that a play we had read had been written by Francis Bacon, and proposed that a resolution to that effect should be passed. He was regarded as a traitor and his proposal was turned down, mainly, I think, through my efforts. Any attempt to dethrone the great genius of Stratford seemed to me to be sacrilege.

About fifteen years ago I was at Stratford and at the Shakespeare Hotel met an American who was visiting Stratford for the first time. Like most Americans, he was very intelligent and most enthusiastic about the Shakespeare plays and the various objects of interest he had seen in the town. He was thoroughly orthodox, and expatiated on the wonderful Stratford man who had written the Shakespeare plays. In a pure spirit of perverseness I took the opposite side, and argued that the plays were written by Francis Bacon. I had never considered the matter carefully, but some of the traitor's arguments that I had heard at Cambridge many years previously must have remained in my brain, and I repeated them. At the end of our talk the American said: 'Well, sir, we have had a most interesting conversation, and we have not agreed; but there is one point on which I am sure we shall agree, and that is that whether those plays were written by William Shakespeare or by Francis Bacon, whoever he was he was a mighty smart man!'

On thinking over, later on, what the traitor at Cambridge had said and what I had repeated to the American, it seemed to me that after all it was not all nonsense, and

I decided to study the question of the authorship of the Shakespeare plays, poems, and sonnets. I considered the subject both from the point of view of the Shaksperians and from the point of view of the Baconians. I read all the books on both sides that I could obtain, and I read the plays and other works of Ben Jonson and all contemporary literary productions referring to Shakespeare and the plays that I could procure. The result of many years of reading and of a considerable amount of thought is that I feel compelled to become a Baconian. My conversion from orthodoxy to Baconianism was not sudden; it came gradually step by step. The more I read, and the more I thought, the more I was convinced that the Baconian theory, with certain limitations, was right.

The reasons that have caused me to come to this conclusion are shortly the following:

1. The plays fit in with what we know of the life of Francis Bacon, but they do not fit in with anything that we know of the life of Shaksper of Stratford.

2. The person responsible for the plays, whoever he may have been, was an aristocrat, a philosopher, a Latin and Greek scholar, a French and Italian linguist, a broad-minded Protestant, and a lawyer; was familiar with Court life, and possessed a phenomenal vocabulary.

3. Francis Bacon was the author of *Venus and Adonis* and of *Lucrece*, and produced them both under the *nom de plume* of William Shakespeare.

4. The evidence of contemporary writers points to Francis Bacon and not to Shaksper of Stratford as the person responsible for the plays. The signatures of Shaksper of Stratford show that he was not a person able to write with facility. Such a person could not have written the Shakespeare plays, which must have run into many thousands of manuscript pages.

5. Bacon was a poet.

6. The frequent revision of the plays is not consistent with the view that they were only written to be acted on the stage and not to be read in the study. This frequent revision is characteristic of Bacon. The final revision

for the purpose of publication in the First Folio, the publication in that edition of three plays that were probably new, and the addition of thousands of new lines to plays that had been previously published, show that the person responsible for the finished plays was living in 1623.

7. If Bacon was responsible for the plays there were several reasons why he should wish to conceal the fact.

8. Many of Bacon's philosophical views appear in the plays, and some of these views appeared in the plays before they were published in Bacon's acknowledged prose works.

9. A large number of words, phrases, and terms contained in the Promus, and a large number of peculiar words, phrases, and terms used in Bacon's acknowledged prose writings, appear in the plays.

10. Certain errors that appear in Bacon's acknowledged prose works appear also in the plays.

11. The style of Bacon's acknowledged writings is similar to the style of a large portion of the plays.

12. The circumstances under which, according to the latest critics, the Sonnets were written, make the authorship of Shaksper of Stratford an impossibility.

13. Those who believe that Shaksper of Stratford wrote the plays have to believe in a series of miracles, impossibilities, and improbabilities, but those who believe that Francis Bacon revised existing plays have to believe in no miracles, impossibilities, or improbabilities at all.

Baconians are in the position of the Trismegistus in Bacon's *Device*, performed at Gray's Inn in 1594; for having added 'depth of knowledge' they have caused all the 'miracles and wonders' necessary in the Shaksperian belief to cease, because they 'have discovered their natural causes.'

In the following Notes an attempt is made to prove that these thirteen statements are correct.

When using the word 'Shakespeare' I refer to the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays, whoever he may have been; when using the words 'Shaksper of

Stratford ' I refer to the man born at Stratford-on-Avon who is supposed by the Shaksperians to have written the plays; and when using the word ' Shaksperians ' I refer to those who believe that Shaksper of Stratford wrote the plays.

In order to make the object of these Notes quite clear, I think it well, before endeavouring to prove the correctness of the thirteen reasons mentioned previously, to state shortly what I believe the Shakespeare plays really are, what part I believe Bacon took in their production, how in my opinion the First Folio must be regarded in any inquiry as to the personality of Shakespeare, and what I think it was that caused Bacon to interest himself in play-writing.

I feel certain that the Shakespeare plays that we now have are the writings of several men revised by a master mind, and I believe that the master mind was the mind of Bacon.

I do not believe that Bacon wrote the entirety of any of the plays. There are parts that I feel certain he never could have written, and on the other hand there are parts that I feel certain nobody else could have written. I believe that he took existing plays that had been written in collaboration by other writers and revised them, that in his revision he left in a large part of the original writing, added his own composition and made the plays what they now are, and that Shaksper of Stratford, who was a purveyor of plays for his own company of players, probably added tags of his own that he knew from experience would be acceptable to the theatre-goers of the time.

Bacon was great at revision ; he seems to have enjoyed it. He revised his acknowledged works over and over again, and I hold that in the Shakespeare plays not only did he revise the work of the play-writers who had written in collaboration, but that he also revised the writings of other men in many of the portions that he added. For example, Portia's plea for mercy is a revision from Seneca's *De Clementia*, and the speech of Gonzago in *The Tempest* (Act II. Scene i.) on the Commonwealth

that he would establish if he had the power is a revision from Montaigne's *Essays*.

With regard to the First Folio, I take a view that I know will not be generally accepted. It is that in any inquiry as to the personality of Shakespeare all the plays contained in the First Folio must be taken as Shakespearian. My reason for taking this view is that the editor of the First Folio—who I think there can be little doubt was Ben Jonson, and that Heminge and Condell merely signed their names as a matter of form—must have known what he was about. He might have left something out, but he would not, I think, have put in any play unless he had known that Shakespeare had had something to do with it. I do not mean that the whole of each play in the First Folio must be taken as Shakespearian, but that parts of them are Shakespearian, and consequently none of them can be rejected. Literary critics have rejected such plays as the Henry VI. plays, *Timon of Athens*, *Titus Andronicus*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Tempest*, and *Henry VIII*. I claim that the handiwork of Bacon can be found in each of these plays and in all the other plays of the First Folio, and also in *Pericles*. It is considerable in some—as for example in *Hamlet*—and it may be very slight in some of the others, and may only consist of a few phrases or lines.

If an inquirer has a theory as to the personality of Shakespeare, and in order to prove it has to reject one or more of the plays contained in the First Folio, then I say he may have identified one of the writers whose work Shakespeare revised, but he has not found Shakespeare.

I believe that Bacon produced the plays partly because owing to his fascination for the stage he could not help it, but mainly because they formed an important part of his scheme for the education of mankind.

It is well known that he had his scheme of education for the World of Nature, but it is not so well known that he also had in his mind a scheme for the education of the World of Man. His scheme for the World of Nature he carried out. I do not go so far as those who say that he carried out his scheme for the World of Man, but I

claim that he laid the foundations by producing the Shakespeare plays in their existing form, and possibly also by causing the production of the Bodenham books. By the Bodenham books I mean the *Politeuphuia* or *Wits Commonwealth* published in 1597, the *Palladis Tamia* of F. Meres published in 1598, *Wit's Theatre of the Little World* published in 1599, the *Belvedere or The Garden of the Muses* published in 1600, *England's Helicon* also published in 1600, and the *Palladis Palatium* published in 1604. I do not say that Francis Bacon wrote any of these books, but I think he interested himself in their publication, and most likely had something to do with all of them, less no doubt with the *Palladis Tamia* than with the others. I think also that Anthony Bacon had something to do with some of them. The reasons that have caused me to come to this conclusion would take too long to set out here. I will only say that there is presumptive evidence of Francis Bacon's hand in all of them and of Anthony Bacon's in some of them, and that they fit in with Francis Bacon's scheme for the education of mankind.

Professor Fowler says[1] that Aphorism 127 'affords conclusive evidence that Bacon contemplated the application of his method to the Mental and Moral as well as the Natural Sciences.' The following extracts from the *Advancement of Learning* will show what Bacon had in his mind.

Treating of the husbandry and cultivation of the mind, he says :—

> 'And if it is to be said, that a cure of men's minds belongeth to sacred divinity, it is most true : but yet moral philosophy may be preferred unto her as a wise servant and humble handmaid. For as the Psalm saith, that " the eyes of the handmaid look perpetually towards the mistress " and yet no doubt many things are left to the discretion of the handmaid, to discern of the mistress's will ; so ought moral philosophy to give a constant attention to the doctrines of divinity, and yet so as it may yield of herself, within due limits, many sound and profitable directions. . . . The first article of this knowledge is to set down sound and true distributions, and descriptions of the several characters and tempers

[1] Bacon's *Novum Organum*.

of men's natures and dispositions, especially having regard to those differences which are most radical, in being the fountains and causes of the rest.'

By those that are most radical he means such things as justice and injustice, peace and war, love and hate, and the like ; all of which are exemplified in the Shakespeare plays and the Bodenham books. He continues :—

' The distinctions are found, many of them, but we conclude no precepts on them : wherein our fault is the greater, because both history, poesy, and daily experience, are as goodly fields where these observations grow ; whereof we make a few posies to hold in our hands, but no man bringeth them to the confectionary that receipts might be made of them for the use of life.'

This ' confectionary ' Bacon never completed, but he gathered together some of the ' posies ' ; which were the Shakespeare plays, and possibly the Bodenham books, as steps towards his work.

Speaking of philosophical writers being wanting in what he considered the necessary examples and descriptions in ethics, he says :—

' But the poets and writers of histories are the best doctors of this knowledge, where we may find painted forth with great life, how affections are kindled and incited ; and how pacified and refrained ; and how again constrained from act, and further degree ; how they disclose themselves ; how they work ; how they are inwrapped one within another ; and how they do fight and encounter one with another ; and other like particulars.'

Bacon was clearly of opinion that examples were of far greater value than mere precepts.

In his *Letter of Advice to Fulke Greville on his Studies*, enumerating the principal aids to learning, and speaking against the use of epitomes and abridgments, he says :—

' I hold collections under heads and commonplaces of far more profit and use.'

And he shows by examples how much better it is to ' draw notes ' out of the life of Alexander the Great than to use an epitome of his life.

Any one wishing for a fuller consideration of the above should read *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*, by the late Walter

Begley, and Edwin Reed's *Francis Bacon our Shakespeare*.

In the Reason 5 of these Notes it is shown that several of Bacon's contemporaries referred to him as a poet, that in the eulogies on him written after his death he was regarded as the greatest poet of his time, and that in one of these 'Manes' it is stated that he incorporated his philosophy in comedies and tragedies.

The conclusion I come to is that Bacon contemplated the application of his philosophy to mental and moral science, and with this object in view he proceeded to pave the way and make the minds of men ready to receive it. He believed that examples had more effect than treatises, and so attempted to lay the foundations of his work by means of poetry, history, and examples. As the *Sylva Sylvarum* was to be used inductively for natural history, so the Shakespeare plays, and possibly the Bodenham books also, were to be used for his mental and moral philosophy.

Whatever view may be taken as to whether he took any part in the Bodenham books, this fact remains, namely, that they fit in exactly with his scheme of education as shown in his acknowledged writings. With regard to the Shakespeare plays, the play of *Othello* would have a much wider and stronger effect than any treatise on jealousy, that of *Hamlet* a much wider and stronger effect than any treatise on procrastination and hesitation, that of *Measure for Measure* a much wider and stronger effect than any treatise on wanton love, that of *Romeo and Juliet* a much wider and stronger effect than any treatise on uncontrolled love, and the historical plays a much wider and stronger effect than any historical treatise. A treatise on any of these subjects would only be read by those who wished to learn something about the subjects discussed, but the plays would be heard by those who had never thought about any of these subjects, and the hearers would gain the knowledge Bacon wished them to acquire almost unconsciously. But he was anxious to avoid all contention and opposition, both of which he considered deleterious to the acceptance of

his teaching, and so produced the plays, and possibly the Bodenham books also, anonymously under a *nom de plume*.

The person, whoever he may have been, who wrote the ' Address ' prefixed to some copies of the 1909 Quarto Edition of *Troilus and Cressida* seems to have realised the educational influences of the Shakespeare plays. The beginning of this ' Address ' is as follows :—

> ' *A never writer to an ever reader :—News.*
>
> ' Eternal reader, you have here a new play, never staled with the stage, never clapper-clawed with the palms of the vulgar, and yet passing full of the palm comical ; for it is a birth of your brain that never undertook any thing comical vainly : and were but the vain names of comedies changed for the titles of commodities, or of plays for pleas, you should see all those grand censors, that now style them such vanities, flock to them for the main grace of their gravities ; especially this author's comedies, that are so framed to the life, that they serve for the most common commentaries of all the actions of our lives, showing such a dexterity and power of wit, that the most displeased with plays are pleased with his comedies. And all such dull and heavy-witted worldlings as were never capable of the wit of a comedy, coming by report of them to his representations, have found that wit there that they never found in themselves, and have parted better-witted than they came ; feeling an edge of wit set upon them, more than ever they dreamed they had brain to grind it on.'

I think it quite possible that the circumstances that caused the production of the plays may have been the reason for the sudden change of view of Ben Jonson for Shakespeare that took place somewhere about 1619 or 1620, and which has always been considered so strange. That Jonson was aware of the part taken by Bacon in the plays is clear, and in his own plays there are constant jeers at Bacon and the Shakespeare plays. That he was somewhat jealous of this romantic style of play-writing that was gaining popularity as against his own classical style of writing, and that he did not think much of it, or pretended not to think much of it, up to the time of his interview with Drummond in 1618 is obvious. But in 1623 came his eulogies in the First Folio, and later on his expressions of admiration in his *Discoveries*. I suggest that in the early days he regarded Bacon as a rival, as a

man responsible for a kind of play-writing with which he had no sympathy ; but later on, when he became one of his literary assistants, he got to know him personally and became acquainted with his reasons for producing the plays. As a well-educated man himself he would sympathise with Bacon's scheme, he would see that Bacon was not producing, and had never produced, the plays in any spirit of rivalry. Hence his sudden change of view both with regard to Bacon and his works.

As I shall show later in these Notes, Bacon regarded the drama as an important means of education, and I believe that in the Shakespeare plays, and possibly in the Bodenham books also, he endeavoured to prepare the ground for the sowing of the seed. At first he may have thought that the Bodenham books provided a good method, but later on I think he came to the conclusion that the plays would be a still better one. The result of his attempt to prepare the ground is that we now have the Shakespeare plays. The Bodenham books, whoever may have been responsible for them, have preserved poetical writing that would otherwise have been lost.

These Notes are divided into two parts. Part I. treats the subject from the historical and literary point of view, and is the most important. Part II. is of a cryptographic nature and, except in the case of my remarks about the Droeshout print, I do not regard it as important in any way. I had thought of omitting it altogether, but have left it in as some parts may be interesting. I wish it to be clearly understood that I base no claim for Bacon's responsibility for the Shakespeare plays on the particulars stated in Part II. Part II. must be taken for what it is worth. I express no opinion about it.

I should add that when giving extracts from early writers I have taken them from the authorities themselves when these authorities could be obtained, but when they were not obtainable I have had to rely on the quotations given by later writers.

PART I

REASON 1

The plays fit in with what we know of the life of Francis Bacon, but they do not fit in with anything that we know of the life of Shaksper of Stratford.

Shaksper of Stratford

The following is all that is known of the life of Shaksper of Stratford that can be proved by evidence of any value. The incidents are taken mainly from Sir Sidney Lee's book, *The Life of Shakespeare*. The person that he calls William Shakespeare, I, for the reason given later, call Shaksper of Stratford.

1564. William Shaksper is baptised at Stratford-on-Avon.

1571. He may have entered the free school at Stratford, but there is no evidence that he was ever there.

1577. If he was ever at school he leaves it owing to his father's financial difficulties, and becomes an assistant to his father in his business of a butcher at Stratford.

1582. He marries. Previous to the marriage he had seduced his wife, and six months after the marriage a daughter is baptised.

1585. His wife has twins, and he leaves her and his children.

1586. He arrives in London.

1594. He is a member of Burbage's company of players and acts with Burbage and Kemp before the Queen at Greenwich. It is not stated what part he took.

1596. He is living in Bishopsgate. He makes an application to the Heralds' College for a Grant of Arms, but the application is refused. Sir Sidney Lee says it is probable that he returned to Stratford this year, and though living in London continued to visit Stratford every year.

1597. He is sued for the non-payment of a rate of five shillings. He buys New Place at Stratford, but the conveyance was not completed till 1602. He is mentioned as a householder at Stratford.

1598. He is sued for non-payment of a rate of thirteen shillings and fourpence. His name stands first in the list of actors at the first performance of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*. He buys stone for the repair of New Place, and is regarded at Stratford as a man of some substance.

1599. He appears to have obtained the Grant of Arms from the Heralds' College.

1600. He sues John Clayton for a debt of £7.

1601. He is sued by the executors of Thomas Whittington for £2 lent to his wife in 1595.

1602. He plants an orchard at Stratford, and purchases some 107 acres of freehold land and some copyhold land.

1603. His name appears at the top of the second column in the list of actors at a performance of Ben Jonson's *Sejanus*.

1604. He sues Philip Rogers at Stratford for £1, 15s. 10d. He walks with eight other actors in the King's procession from The Tower to Westminster, and receives 4½ yards of scarlet cloth for a cloak. Is made a Groom of the Chamber.

1605. He purchases a moiety of the Stratford tithes.

1608. He is at law with a Stratford man named John Addenbroke, and stands godfather to William Walker.

1609 to 1612. During this period he is engaged in legal matters in regard to his land and the tithes.

1610. He buys 20 acres of land.

1611. He settles permanently at Stratford. He subscribes, with other inhabitants of Stratford, to a fund raised for obtaining a Bill in Parliament for the better repair of the highways.

1613. He buys a house in London for £140, and mortgages it for £60, and receives forty-four shillings from the Earl of Rutland for drawing an ' Impresa ' or pictorial design.

1614. William Combe endeavours to enclose some

common land at Stratford. This is opposed by the Corporation. The enclosure would have injured the property of Shaksper of Stratford ; but the latter, having obtained from Combe a Deed of Indemnity, supports him.

1616. He dies at Stratford.

The above are all the known incidents in the life of Shaksper of Stratford resting on evidence of any value that I have been able to find after reading many biographies. I may have missed some points, but if so it has been quite unintentional. I need not say that the biographers of Shaksper of Stratford endeavour to make out a good deal more than this ; but as it is mostly founded on the assumption that Shaksper of Stratford was the author of what are known as the Shakespeare plays, it is not applicable when the inquiry is as to the personality of that author.

I now make a few remarks upon the above-mentioned facts, which are, I think, the only ones known to be true, and upon some suggestions and admissions made by Sir Sidney Lee and others.

Most of the dates are taken from Sir Sidney Lee's book, and if they are correct, and if Shaksper of Stratford was ever at the Stratford free school, he was only there for six years and left it when he was thirteen years old.

With regard to the gap between 1586, when Shaksper of Stratford arrived in London, and 1594, when he appears as a member of Burbage's company of players, Sir Sidney Lee suggests that he may have been a village schoolmaster after leaving Stratford ; but there is no evidence to support the suggestion. He admits the tradition as to the deer-stealing and the rabbit-stealing in the Stratford days. He says that the theory about Shaksper of Stratford ever having been in either a printing office or a lawyer's office is fanciful, and practically admits that he commenced his connection with Burbage's theatre by holding horses for the theatrical visitors, but adds : ' There is every indication that he was speedily offered employment inside the playhouse.' I may mention on this last point that Rowe says Shaksper of Stratford was received into the playhouse ' in a very

mean rank,' and Malone that he was a 'prompter's assistant,' that is a call boy. Sir Sidney Lee says it is highly improbable that Shaksper of Stratford ever went abroad.

It should be noticed that in 1596 Shaksper of Stratford made an application for a Grant of Arms, but the application was refused, and that he made a second application in 1599 and appears to have obtained the grant.

In 1597 the Earl of Essex, one of Bacon's most intimate friends, became head of the Heralds' College; in 1597 Shaksper of Stratford purchased New Place, and in 1598 the name 'Shakespere' appeared for the first time on one of the Shakespeare plays. Is it not probable that the Grant of Arms and the means of purchasing New Place were the return that Shaksper of Stratford received for allowing a name somewhat similar to his to appear on *Love's Labour's Lost*?

The Shaksperians seem to think that the fact that Shaksper of Stratford walked in the King's procession in 1604 shows that he was a leading actor and a great dramatist. To my mind it shows just the contrary. It may be that an actor would have done this, for in those days an actor had no social position whatever, but I cannot believe that a great dramatist and poet would have demeaned himself by doing such a thing. Moreover, there is no mention of any dramatist having taken part in the procession. Shaksper of Stratford walked with *other actors*, among whom were Burbage, Heminge, and Condell.

The Shaksperians have also tried to make a great deal out of the fact that Shaksper of Stratford was made a Groom of the Chamber. The circumstances relating to the appointment were as follows:

When the Spanish Ambassador was at Somerset House in 1604 the King's players, including Shaksper of Stratford, were summoned to take part in the festivities held in his honour, and were made Grooms of the Chamber. No special distinction was conferred on Shaksper of Stratford; all the actors were appointed, and the appointment conferred no distinction on any of them. It was

no doubt made in order that they should be free from arrest, so that the plays should not be spoilt by the absence of an actor. A Groom of the Chamber was only an ordinary servitor and received two shillings a day for his services.

Shaksper of Stratford was a friend of an innkeeper named John Davenant who kept the Crown Inn at Oxford, and he frequently stayed at this inn when making his journeys between London and Stratford. In 1606 the wife of John Davenant had a son, and according to tradition Shaksper of Stratford was the father. There is evidence to show that the tradition was founded on fact.

There is a tradition that in 1616 Shaksper of Stratford ' had a merry meeting,' but ' itt seems drank too hard ' and ' died of a fevour there contracted.' The tradition rests solely on the statement of John Ward, the Vicar of Stratford, and I am not aware that there is any direct evidence that he died from the results of a drinking bout any more than there is that Ben Jonson and Michael Drayton were present on the occasion. It is more probable that the fever was caused by the insanitary condition of Stratford. Still, according to tradition Shaksper of Stratford was given to over-indulgence in the convivial bowl. A local legend described him as sleeping off under the shadow of a tree, known as ' Shakspere's crab tree,' the effects of a hard drinking contest with the neighbouring village of Bidford.

Sir Sidney Lee says that Shaksper of Stratford ' was buried inside Stratford Church, near the northern wall of the chancel, in which, as part-owner of the tithes, and consequently one of the lay-rectors, he had a right of interment.'

If Sir Sidney Lee's law is correct and Shaksper of Stratford was buried in a place of honour because as lay-rector he had the right of interment there, then it follows that he was not buried in this place of honour because he was known as the greatest dramatist of the time.

So little is known about Shaksper of Stratford that it

is not even certain whom he married. His wife is generally supposed to have been Anne Hathaway, a daughter of Richard Hathaway of Shottery.

A bond was given in the Worcester registry on 28th November 1582, which enabled the marriage of Shaksper of Stratford and a person named Anne Hathaway to take place immediately with only one publication of banns ; but on the previous day, that is on 27th November, a licence had been taken out in the same registry for the marriage of William Shaxpere and a person named Anne Whateley of Temple Grafton.

Three suggestions have been made as to the marriage.

1. William Shaxpere was not the same man as Shaksper of Stratford, and the latter married Anne the daughter of Richard Hathaway of Shottery.

2. The bond was entered into by the trustees of Richard Hathaway, who had recently died, in order to prevent Shaksper of Stratford deserting Anne Hathaway and marrying another woman.

3. The maiden name of the bride was Anne Whateley, she was the widow of somebody named Hathaway, and was living at Temple Grafton at the time of her marriage with Shaksper of Stratford.

It would appear that the first and second suggestions cannot be upheld ; for Richard Hathaway of Shottery had no daughter named Anne. He had four sons, and three daughters named respectively Agnes, Catherine, and Margaret ; so the numerous pilgrimages that have been made to Anne Hathaway's cottage at Shottery have been made to a false shrine.

What the name of Shaksper of Stratford's wife was is not important, and I only mention the matter because it shows how little is really known about him, and how statements made without evidence to prove their truth have been taken as correct without inquiry. What is important is that the first child of the marriage, Susannah, was baptised on Sunday, 26th May 1583, that is six months after giving of the bond, and was, of course, born some time earlier.

Francis Bacon

The following is the merest sketch of the life of Francis Bacon. I only mention those incidents that have any bearing on the question I am considering.

He was born in London on 22nd January 1561. His father was Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and his mother, Lady Anne Bacon, was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, and one of the most scholarly and accomplished women of the time. She was able to carry on a correspondence in Greek, and to read, write, and translate in Latin and Italian; so Bacon had an opportunity of acquiring familiarity with these languages early in life, and as a son of the Lord Keeper he mixed in Court life from his childhood. He soon showed intelligence and precocity far beyond his years, and attracted the attention of Queen Elizabeth, who called him her 'Young Lord Keeper.'

In 1573 he and his elder brother Anthony went to Trinity College, Cambridge. He was dissatisfied with the teaching system of the University, which was not congenial to his inquiring and progressive mind.

In 1576 he left Cambridge, and both he and his brother Anthony were entered at Gray's Inn.

In 1577 his father sent him to Paris under the care of Sir Amias Pawlett, the English Ambassador. 'The business of the mission,' says Spedding, 'took him in the wake of the Court, from Paris to Blois, from Blois to Tours, from Tours to Poitiers, where in the autumn of 1577 he resided for three months.' So he had an opportunity of becoming familiar with the customs of the French Court, with the topography of the parts of the country visited, and of learning the French language.

Until recently it has been an undetermined question whether Bacon ever travelled in Italy. A few years ago Walter Begley found in Paris a French translation of *Sylva Sylvarum*. It is not a translation of Rawley's edition, but of what appears to have been Bacon's original draft for the *Sylva Sylvarum*. It is more methodical in

form, contains portions that are not in Rawley's edition, and does not contain certain parts that are in his edition. The author is Pierre Amboise, Sieur de la Magdelaine, and he was one of the suite of Monseigneur de Chasteauneuf, Garde des Sçeaux de France, who was French Ambassador to England in 1629 and 1630, and to whom the book is dedicated. The translation is stated to have been made from some of Bacon's manuscript papers.

The book contains a short account of Bacon's life, or as the author calls it, 'Discours sur la vie de Mre François Bacon, Chancelier d'Angleterre.' In this account the author says :—

> 'Il employa dans les voyages quelques années de sa jeunesse, afin de polir son esprit, et façonner son jugement, par la pratique de toute sorte d'estrangers. La France, l'Italie et l'Espagne comme les nations les plus civilisées de tout le monde, furent celles où sa curiosité le porta.'

So we now know that Francis Bacon travelled not only in France, but also in Italy and Spain. As Amboise says that these journeys took place when he was a youth, it may be assumed that they occurred during the three years following after the time when he left England in the suite of Pawlett.

Spain was then one of the leading countries of Europe and England's greatest rival. To a young man of Bacon's position Spanish would have been one of the most important languages to learn, and it is known that he was familiar with it.

In 1580 his father died and he was called back to England. On his return he found that the family house, Gorhambury near St. Albans, and the main part of his father's property had been left to his brother Anthony, and that very little had been left to him ; so he took up his residence at Gray's Inn in order to make his living as a working lawyer. The Earl of Southampton was subsequently a member of Gray's Inn, and it was here that Bacon's friendship with him began.

There is evidence that during his early residence in Gray's Inn Bacon was in pecuniary difficulties. Letters

exist written by him to his uncle, Lord Burleigh, asking for his influence and assistance. As a nephew of the Prime Minister he might have naturally expected some help from him; but he got very little. It may have been through Burleigh that he obtained the Registership of the Star Chamber, but the office gave him little emolument.

In 1584 he was Member of Parliament for Melcombe Regis, in 1589 Member for Liverpool, and in 1593 Member for Middlesex.

In 1588 he was sworn 'Queen's Counsel Extraordinary.'

In 1592, being pressed with debts and being disappointed at not obtaining any preferment, he threatened to throw up the law and become 'a sorry bookmaker.'

In 1593 his pecuniary difficulties were serious, and he complains of the behaviour of a hard Jew. His brother Anthony, who had been in Italy, returned to England, mortgaged his own property and taxed his own credit, so as to pay off Francis' debt.

Somewhere about the year 1594 he conducted his first case in court.

In 1596 he published his *Maxims of the Law and Treatise on the Colours of Good and Evil.*

The first edition of his *Essays* appeared in 1597. The essays in this first edition were only ten in number, and did not include the 'Essay of Love.' This point is important, as will appear later.

Having failed to obtain any substantial preferment from Burleigh, Bacon had attached himself to the Earl of Essex. In 1599 Essex left London for Dublin as Lord Lieutenant; his expedition failed and he returned to London in disgrace. In 1601 occurred what is known as the Essex Rebellion. The Earls of Essex and Southampton were tried for high treason; Essex was executed and Southampton imprisoned. Bacon was one of the prosecuting counsel at the trial.

In the same year, 1601, Anthony Bacon died, and Lady Anne Bacon's mind gave way. She passed through the various stages of lunacy and died ten years later.

In 1604 Bacon was appointed King's Counsel, in 1607 Solicitor-General, and in 1612 Attorney-General.

The Advancement of Learning was published in 1605, and the *Wisdom of the Ancients* appeared in 1609.

Bacon took the greatest interest in the development of the recently founded colonies in America. Was this vast American continent to become mainly English or mainly Spanish? Bacon, Raleigh, Southampton, Pembroke, and the various subscribers to the expeditions to the New World must be included among the true founders of the United States.

One of these New World expeditions took place in 1610, when a fleet was dispatched to the West Indies to trade and to assist in founding a colony in Virginia. Bacon and Pembroke were among those who helped in the enterprise. Their ship encountered severe storms and was wrecked on the Bermudas.

In 1617 Bacon was appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in 1618 became Lord High Chancellor of England with the title of Baron Verulam, and in 1621 was created Viscount St. Alban.

The *Novum Organum* was published in 1621, and the same year is the date of Bacon's fall.

After his fall he retired to Gorhambury, where he continued his literary pursuits until his death in 1626.

These incidents in the lives of Shaksper of Stratford and Francis Bacon I now place in tabular form.

In the following table the first column consists of a series of dates in chronological order, beginning with the birth of Francis Bacon and ending with his death.

The second column consists of all the facts that are known for certain about Shaksper of Stratford, and of one or two statements founded on tradition that his biographers apparently admit.

The third column is an epitome of my previous Notes relating to incidents in the life of Francis Bacon.

The last column gives the dates of the first notices of the Shakespeare plays and poems as given by Halliwell-Phillipps in his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*. As to these dates I wish to make a few remarks.

Of all the lives that have been written of Shaksper of Stratford that by Halliwell-Phillipps is, to my mind, the most satisfactory. When he assumes anything, he makes it clear that it is an assumption. If he states anything as a fact, he gives evidence to prove the fact. The result, it is hardly necessary to say, is a very bald and a very scrappy account of the life of Shaksper of Stratford; but that is not the fault of Halliwell-Phillipps. The difficulty every one has to contend with who endeavours to write a life of Shaksper of Stratford is that the man had no life to write about. It is quite certain that Halliwell-Phillipps did his best. The amount of research shown in his book is extraordinary, and if the author of the *Outlines* could have given more information he would have done so.

The dates he gives to the plays are those of the earliest notices of them that he has been able to find that rest on evidence of any value. A play called *King John* is mentioned by Francis Meres as existing in 1598, and Halliwell-Phillipps accepts this as being the Shakespeare play of that name; but Clark and Wright, in the Cambridge edition of the plays, say that this was an earlier play by another hand. The Shakespeare play of *King John* was first published in the Folio Edition of 1623.

Now although the greatest credit must be given to Halliwell-Phillipps for his careful investigations, it does not follow that his dates give the exact dates of the first production of the various plays. They may have been produced long before there were any notices of them, or there may have been earlier notices of them that have been lost. The point to be remembered is, that the earlier the production of the earlier plays the less likely are they to have been written by Shaksper of Stratford.

A TABLE OF DATES

Dates.	Shaksper of Stratford.	Francis Bacon.	Plays and Poems.
1561		Born.	
1564	Baptised.		
1571	Probably goes to school.		
1573		Goes to Trinity College, Cambridge.	
1576		Leaves Cambridge and goes to Gray's Inn.	
1577	Leaves school and helps his father as a butcher.	Goes to Paris with Sir Amias Pawlett, follows the Court in France, and visits Italy.	
1580		Returns to England on his father's death, and takes up his residence at Gray's Inn.	
1582	Marries a woman whose christian name is Anne.		
1584		Member of Parliament for Melcombe Regis.	
1585	His wife has twins, and he leaves her and his children.		
1586	Arrives in London, and at some time between this date and 1594 gets connected with Burbage's theatre, first as an ostler, and then as call boy.		
1588		Sworn Queen's Counsel Extraordinary.	

Dates.	Shaksper of Stratford.	Francis Bacon.	Plays and Poems.
1589		Member of Parliament for Liverpool.	
1592		Pressed with debts and disappointed at obtaining no preferment, he threatens to throw up the legal profession and become 'a sorry bookmaker.'	*Henry VI.*, Part I. " " " II. " " " III.
1593		Member of Parliament for Middlesex. Gets into debt. Complains of a hard Jew, and is freed by his brother Anthony.	*Titus Andronicus.* *Venus and Adonis.*
1594	Is a member of Burbage's company of players, and acts before the Queen at Greenwich.	Appears to have conducted a case in the law courts for the first time.	*Comedy of Errors.* *Lucrece.*
1596	Makes application for a Grant of Arms, which is refused. Is living in Bishopsgate.	*Maxims of the Law and Treatise on the Colours of Good and Evil* published.	*Romeo and Juliet.*
1597	Is sued for non-payment of a rate of five shillings. Buys New Place, and is mentioned as a householder at Stratford.	The first ten essays published.	*Richard II.* *Henry IV.*, Part I. *Love's Labour's Lost.* *Richard III.*
1598	The name William Shakespere appears on a play (*Love's Labour's Lost*) for the first time. He is sued for the non-payment of a rate of 13s. 4d., acts in the first performance of *Every Man in his Humour*, buys stone for the repair of New Place, and is regarded at Stratford as a man of some substance.		*The Two Gentlemen of Verona.* *The Merry Wives of Windsor.* *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* *The Merchant of Venice.* *Henry IV.*, Part II. (*King John* is mentioned by Francis Meres, but Clark and Wright consider this was an earlier play by another hand.)

Dates.	Shaksper of Stratford.	Francis Bacon.	Plays and Poems.
1599	Obtains a Grant of Arms.		*Henry V.*
1600	Sues John Clayton for a debt of £7.		*Much Ado About Nothing.* *As You Like It.*
1601	Is sued by the executors of Thomas Whittington for £2 lent to his wife in 1595.	Is prosecuting Counsel in the trial of Essex and Southampton. Anthony Bacon dies. Lady Anne Bacon becomes insane.	*Twelfth Night.*
1602	Plants an orchard at Stratford. Purchases 107 acres of freehold land and some copyhold land.		*Hamlet.*
1603	Acts in a performance of *Sejanus.*		*Troilus and Cressida.*
1604	Sues Philip Rogers for £1, 15s. 10d. Walks with eight other actors in the King's procession, and receives scarlet cloth for a cloak. Is made a Groom of the Chamber.	Is appointed King's Counsel.	*Measure for Measure.* *Othello.*
1605	Purchases a moiety of the Stratford tithes.	*The Advancement of Learning* published.	
1606			*King Lear.*
1607		Appointed Solicitor-General.	
1608	Is at law with a Stratford man named John Addenbroke. Is godfather to William Walker.		*Antony and Cleopatra.* *Pericles.*
1609	From this date to 1612 is engaged in legal matters relating to his land and the tithes.	*The Wisdom of the Ancients* published.	

DATES.	SHAKSPER OF STRATFORD.	FRANCIS BACON.	PLAYS AND POEMS.
1610	Buys 20 acres of land.	Helps in the expedition to the West Indies, and the ship is wrecked on the Bermudas.	
1611	Settles permanently at Stratford, and subscribes to a fund for obtaining better repair of the highways.		*The Tempest.* *A Winter's Tale.* *Macbeth.* *Cymbeline.*
1612		Appointed Attorney-General.	
1613	Buys a house in London, and receives 44 shillings from the Earl of Rutland for drawing an 'Impresa.'		
1614	Supports William Combe in an endeavour to enclose some common land at Stratford.		
1616	Dies and is buried at Stratford.		
1617		Is appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.	
1618		Becomes Lord Chancellor with the title of Baron Verulam.	
1621		Created Viscount St. Alban. *Novum Organum* published. His trial and fall. Retires to Gorhambury and continues his literary pursuits.	
1623			*Taming of the Shrew.* *All's Well That Ends Well.* *Henry VIII.* *Coriolanus.* *Timon of Athens.* *Julius Caesar.* *King John.*
1626		Dies.	

On looking through this table of dates the question arises : ' Who is the more likely man to have written the plays and the poems, Shaksper of Stratford or Francis Bacon ? ' I think the answer must be ' Francis Bacon.' I will give some reasons for this.

I first consider the effect that one would expect to find from the author's environment. By this I mean that the author, or person responsible for the plays, must have been affected by the surroundings in which he had lived, and one would expect to find that from time to time he would let some hint of these surroundings slip out.

Shaksper of Stratford was born and lived for the first twenty-two years of his life in the country ; therefore, if he was the author, one would expect some description or reference to country life. One would expect to find, in the earlier plays at least, some mention of such things as a village green, a maypole, a country inn, a fair, a market, a harvest home, a haymaking, a farm, a country house, reaping, or fruit-picking. But there is nothing of the kind. There is a broad river at Stratford, but the plays make no mention of a kingfisher, an otter, a water-rat, a rising fish, a dragon-fly, a moor-hen, or a heron. There were woods at Stratford, but there is no mention of a wood-pigeon, a night-jar, or a squirrel. There are references to animals, birds, and insects, but, with the exception of animals of the chase such as boars, deer, and hares, the descriptions are not obtained from observation, they are obtained from books and contain the same mistakes that are in the books.

Take as an example the mistakes made with regard to the habit of bees. In *Titus Andronicus*, Act v. Scene i., we have :—

> ' We 'll follow where thou lead'st,
> Like stinging bees in hottest summer's day,
> Led by their master to the flowered fields.'

It is hardly necessary to say that this is all wrong. But it is taken from Du Bartas.

Another instance is the well-known description of a beehive in *Henry V.*, Act i. Scene ii., commencing, ' So work the honey-bees.' Nobody will deny that this

passage is most beautiful poetry ; but from the point of view of the naturalist it has been described as containing ' an error in every line.' The person responsible for it took his information from Lyly's *Euphues*.

There is an accurate description of the chase of the wild boar, and of a hunted hare, in *Venus and Adonis*. As a courtier Bacon would be familiar with hunting and hawking and would have become familiar with the hunt of the wild boar during his sojourn in France.

Shaksper of Stratford was the father of a family, but there are practically no references to children. In fact, there is nothing in the plays that reflects his environment in any way, except possibly in *Henry IV.*, Part II., and in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Shaksperians say that some of the places mentioned in these plays are near Stratford and that Justice Shallow is Sir Thomas Lucy. But it must not be forgotten that Bacon was also connected with Stratford. In 1598 he received a royal grant of a lease at Cheltenham, about twenty-five miles from Stratford and twenty from Barton-on-the-Heath, and in 1606 he married a step-daughter of Sir John Pakington, who lived near Stratford, and by his marriage became connected with Sir Thomas Lucy.[1]

Bacon spent his childhood at Gorhambury, near St. Albans, then went to France, Italy, and Spain, was essentially a town man, and was a habitué of the Courts of Elizabeth and James. There are reflections of his environment all through the plays, and especially in the early ones.

The scene of *Henry VI.*, Part I., is in the very parts of France in which it is known that he travelled. *Henry VI.*, Part II., takes place in the neighbourhood of St. Albans. The battle of St. Albans took place within a short distance of Gorhambury. ' Old Nevil's crest, The rampant bear chain'd to the rugged staff ' (*Henry VI.*, Part II. Act v. Scene i.), can be seen in St. Alban's Cathedral. Humphrey of Gloucester discovers the imposture of Saunder Simpcox, who pretends to have been born blind (*Henry*

[1] See Sir George Greenwood's *Lee, Shakespeare and A Tertium Quid* for the proof that Justice Shallow is not a reminiscence of Sir Thomas Lucy.

VI., Part II. Act II. Scene i.), and the fact is stated in an inscription that until recently was near his tomb in the cathedral. This inscription is believed to have been written in 1591, and the first part of it has been translated as follows :—

> 'Interred within this consecrated ground
> Lies he whom Henry his protector found ;
> Good Humphr'y, Gloster's Duke, who well could spy
> Fraud couch'd within the blind impostor's eye.'

Cymbeline was a British king who reigned at Verulam in the early part of the Christian era. The Roman town of Verulam was on a site close to the present city of St. Albans ; in fact Bacon is buried in St. Michael's Church, which occupies the site of the Temple of Verulam. By a somewhat strange coincidence the monument of Bacon in St. Michael's Church occupies the same position that the monument of Shaksper of Stratford occupies in Stratford Church : namely, on the north wall of the chancel.

I now consider another point.

One would expect that the author's special studies and the things that interested him most during his life would from time to time peep out.

What were the special studies of Shaksper of Stratford ?

There is not the slightest evidence to show that he ever had any.

What interested him most during his life ?

As far as one can see, from the little we know of him, he was most interested in the making of money ; there is nothing to show that he was interested in anything else.

I believe there is only one letter in existence written to him and only three contemporary letters in which his name is mentioned. They were all written about the year 1598, just at the time when by some means or other he seems to have come into the possession of money, and none of them refer to him in any way as a literary man ; they all relate to money matters.

Richard Quiney wrote to him from London asking for a loan of £30 upon security.

Abraham Sturley wrote to a friend in London in refer-

ence to Shaksper of Stratford lending ' some monei on some od yarde land or other att Shottri or neare about us.'

The same Abraham Sturley wrote to Richard Quiney and said, ' our countriman Mr Wm Shak would procure us monei wc I will like of.'

Adrian Quiney wrote to his son Richard Quiney and in his letter said, ' yff yow bargen with Wm Sha or receve money therefor, brynge youre money homme.'

Shaksper of Stratford may almost be called a usurer. In the plays usurers are held up to contempt. Bacon wrote an essay against usury as it existed in his time.

If any credence can be given to tradition Shaksper of Stratford was prone to over-indulgence in the convivial bowl. The person responsible for the plays expresses the highest contempt for intemperance.

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act I. Scene iv., we have :—

> ' to sit
> And keep the turn of tippling with a slave ;
> To reel the streets at noon, and stand the buffet
> With knaves that smell of sweat.'

In *Othello*, Act II. Scene iii., Cassio makes the following remarks on intemperance :—

> ' O thou invisible spirit of wine, if you hast no name to be known by, let us call thee devil ! '
>
> ' O God, that men should put an enemy in their mouths, to steal away their brains ! that we should, with joy, pleasure, revel, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts ! '
>
> ' To be now a sensible man, by and by a fool, and presently a beast ! O strange ! Every inordinate cup is unblessed, and the ingredient is a devil.'

In the Introduction to *The Taming of the Shrew* the Lord says to Sly, who is lying drunk before the alehouse :—

> ' O monstrous beast ! how like a swine he lies ! '

Bacon's special studies were Natural Philosophy, Law, and Classics. These subjects abound in the plays from beginning to end.

The things that interested him the most were the contemplation of and the experimentation in horticulture, medicine, and general science, such as light,

cold, density, sound, echoes, and putrefaction. There are numerous references to these subjects in the plays, but I only mention the following, which refer to medical science.

Harvey's discovery as to the circulation of the blood was not announced till 1616, but the valvular structure of the veins was demonstrated by Fabricius in 1574. This latter step in the great discovery was known to the person responsible for the plays in 1603.

In *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene v., the Ghost says to Hamlet :—

> 'Upon my secure hour thy uncle stole
> With juice of cursed hebenon in a vial,
> And in the porches of my ears did pour
> The leperous distilment, whose effect
> Holds such an enmity with blood of man,
> That, swift as quicksilver, it courses through
> The natural gates and alleys of the body,
> And with a sudden vigour it doth posset
> And curd, like eager droppings into milk,
> The thin and wholesome blood.'

Similar knowledge is shown in *Coriolanus*, Act I. Scene i., where Menenius Agrippa, when telling the tale of the belly and the members, and recounting the argument of the belly, says :—

> '"True is it, my incorporate friends," quoth he,
> "That I receive the general food at first,
> Which you do live upon : and fit it is ;
> Because I am the store-house, and the shop
> Of the whole body : but, if you do remember,
> I send it through the rivers of your blood,
> Even to the court, the heart, to the seat o' the brain ;
> And, through the cranks and offices of man,
> The strongest nerves, and small inferior veins,
> From me receive that natural competency
> Whereby they live : "'

This passage and the remark of Angelo in *Measure for Measure*, Act II. Scene iv. :—

> 'Why does my blood thus muster to my heart,'

and that of Brutus to Portia in *Julius Caesar*, Act II. Scene i. :—

> 'As dear to me, as are the ruddy drops
> That visit my sad heart.'

show, it has been claimed, that the person responsible for the plays had anticipated Harvey's discovery. But the claim does not bear examination, for these plays were not printed till 1623.

The point is one in favour of the Baconians ; for it is most improbable that a man in the position of Shaksper of Stratford would have anticipated this discovery, although Bacon might have done so. It is far more likely that the passages quoted above were written when the plays were prepared for publication in 1623, that is seven years after Harvey's discovery and seven years after the death of Shaksper of Stratford, and it follows, if this is the case, that they could not have been written by the latter.

I now pass to another point.

It would be expected that the incidents in the life of the person responsible for the plays would influence the plays he wrote, not only in the remarks that the various characters make, but also in the general scheme of the plays themselves.

Of the incidents in the life of Shaksper of Stratford we know practically nothing. He came to London a poor man and left it a comparatively prosperous one. He appears to have got on in a steady sort of way and to have made some sort of name as an actor, but he seems to have had rather a humdrum sort of existence.

In the case of Bacon the incidents of his life are clearly reflected in the plays. He gets into pecuniary difficulties and complains of a hard Jew, and his brother Anthony comes to his assistance. Shortly afterwards we have *The Merchant of Venice*, with the hard Jew gibbeted as Shylock and Anthony Bacon portrayed as Antonio. In 1610 he partakes in an expedition to the West Indies and the ship in which he is interested is wrecked on the Bermudas. Next year we have *The Tempest*. Another instance occurs in the mental breakdown of his mother, and there are reminiscences of his fall in *Timon of Athens*, in *Henry VIII.*, and in other plays ; but these matters I refer to later on.

I now take another point.

On looking through the list of plays and poems in the fourth column of the Table of Dates it will be found that during the fifteen years from 1591 to 1606 there are twenty-six plays and poems, and during the seventeen years from 1606 to 1623 only thirteen plays, and that of these latter, seven were published seven years after the death of Shaksper of Stratford. It will also be found that the most prolific period was the seven years from 1591 to 1598.

Is there anything to account for this disproportion in production either in the case of Shaksper of Stratford or of Francis Bacon? One would have expected that as time went on the author would have gained more experience and facility in writing, and that his literary output would have increased rather than diminished.

A reference to the second column of the Table of Dates will show what Shaksper of Stratford had been doing up to 1606. He had evidently got on. He had made money, he had bought New Place, and had made some sort of name as an actor. For these results he must have worked hard, and could have had little time to write twenty-four plays and two poems. Moreover, if he was the author, he must, before he began to write them, have taught himself Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, must have studied law, philosophy, medicine, and natural science, and made himself familiar with many of Bacon's philosophical views that were not published till many years afterwards. In addition to this, the period up to 1598, when the production of the plays and poems was most prolific, was the time when he must have been occupied in acquiring this necessary knowledge, for such knowledge could not be acquired rapidly.

In 1611 he retires to Stratford, and one would have expected that having more leisure he would have written more plays. But, on the contrary, no more plays were produced up to the date of his death in 1616.

I now turn to Bacon.

As a child he had a mother well able to ground him in Latin, Greek, and Italian, and a father in a position to

introduce him into English Court life. From 1573 to 1576 he is at Cambridge, where he goes through the curriculum of the time and has every opportunity of increasing his knowledge of the Classics, and of learning the philosophy of the Greeks and Romans. In 1577 he goes to France for three years, gets acquainted with the manners and customs of the French Court and visits Italy and Spain. In 1580 he takes up his residence in Gray's Inn, commences his study of the law, and writes Masques that are performed in Gray's Inn Hall. In 1596, when he was thirty-five years old, he complains that he wanted work and that his employment by the Queen ' was a kind of freehold.'

Here is a man who in 1591 was well qualified to commence the writing or the revision of the twenty-four plays and the two poems and with time at his disposal to do it. If the person responsible for the plays and the poems produced up to 1606 was Francis Bacon, then it is quite understandable how he put into the mouths of some of his characters those somewhat strange views about love that were not made public till Bacon published his ' Essay of Love ' in 1610. The ' Essay of Love ' was not one of the ten published in 1597.

In 1607 Bacon was appointed Solicitor-General and became a busier man. He had less time to give to his works of recreation, and from that date the number of the plays produced became less. From 1607 to 1611 we have seven plays. From 1612, when he was appointed Attorney-General and became a still busier man, to the date of his fall in 1621 we have no new plays at all. After his fall he had more leisure for writing, and in 1623 we have seven more plays.

Bacon settled in Gray's Inn in 1580 and in 1596 published the first work that bore his name ; namely, the *Maxims of the Law and Treatise on the Colours of Good and Evil.* There is evidence that during the period from 1580 to 1596 he was engaged, as G. C. Bompas says in *The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays*, ' in some course of study or literary work.' Nicholas Faunt, writing to Anthony Bacon on 31 March 1583, says that he had called on Francis Bacon at Gray's Inn and ' I was answered

by his servant that he was not at leisure to speak with me. This strangeness which hath at other times been used towards me by your brother hath made me sometimes to doubt that he greatly mistaketh me.' This looks as though Bacon was engaged in some mysterious work, and did not wish to be disturbed or that others should know what he was doing. The *Maxims of the Law* and the Masques that he produced for Gray's Inn would not be sufficient to account for such a long period of work.

Another thing that will be noticed on going through the list of plays in the fourth column of the Table of Dates is that after 1601 there is a marked change in their character. Up to this date, with the exception of *Titus Andronicus* and *Romeo and Juliet*, they consist of historical plays and comedies, they are bright and lively, I may almost say joyous ; but after 1601 they become more sad, more painful, more lugubrious if I may use the term. Studies of the various phases of the mind are introduced, and insanity takes its place for the first time.

Is there anything in the lives of either Shaksper of Stratford or of Francis Bacon that could have caused this change ?

We shall look in vain for any such event in the life of Shaksper of Stratford. No striking incident in his life is known, and there is nothing whatever to show that he ever passed through a period of depression.

The facts are different in the case of Bacon. For years he had been at the bar, but had not succeeded to any great extent. He was poor and had got into pecuniary difficulties. Having failed to get preferment from Burleigh he had attached himself to the Earl of Essex, and in 1601 came the trial of Essex for high treason, in which Bacon was one of the prosecuting counsel. By taking part in the prosecution of his benefactor he brought much enmity upon himself, for Essex had many friends. This is quite enough to account for a period of depression in his case, and if the part he took in the trial was owing to necessity, as is suggested later on, this depression would be intensified.

But there were other reasons. Francis Bacon was devoted to his brother Anthony, and in 1601 Anthony Bacon died. In addition to this, in the same year his mother's mind gave way and she became insane.

After the mental derangement of Lady Anne Bacon studies relating to the state of the mind appear in the plays. Insanity is introduced in *Hamlet* in 1602, and representations of various mental conditions appear in *King Lear* in 1606 and in *Macbeth* in 1611. The events in the life of Bacon that occurred in 1601 are quite sufficient to explain the change in the character of the plays that took place shortly after 1601, and I do not think the fact that Bacon revised existing plays raises any difficulty. He would only have taken up such plays as when revised would conform with his state of mind.

I now turn to another point.

It would be expected that in a series of plays, such as those in the First Folio, passages would occur referring to incidents in the author's or reviser's life or to some of his characteristics, something to show what sort of life he had led, what sort of studies he was engaged in, and what were his surroundings. One would expect to find that now and then in describing the various personages that he put in his plays he would draw these descriptions, perhaps unconsciously, from himself.

The closest examination of the plays will show no reflections of the personality of Shaksper of Stratford, but it will show many of Francis Bacon. I will mention one or two of them.

Bacon was a precocious boy, able beyond his years, clever and quick, and he had a most accomplished mother. At the age of fifteen he complained of what he considered the out-of-date teaching of the University of Cambridge.

In *Richard III.*, Act III. Scene i., Gloucester says of the young Duke of York :—

> 'O, 'tis a parlous boy;
> Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, capable:
> He is all the mother's, from top to toe.'

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act II. Scene iv., Valentine, describing his young friend Proteus, says :—

> ' Yet hath Sir Proteus, for that 's his name,
> Made use and fair advantage of his days :
> His years but young, but his experience old ;
> His head unmellow'd, but his judgment ripe.'

And the Duke replies :—

> ' Beshrew me, sir, but if he make this good,
> He is as worthy for an empress' love,
> As meet to be an emperor's counsellor.'

As a boy Bacon was a great favourite with Queen Elizabeth, and King James appointed him salaried Counsel to the Crown.

Bacon was sent by his father to Trinity College, Cambridge, and then with Sir Amias Pawlett to attend the King of France at the French Court.

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act I. Scene iii., Panthino, advising Antonio as to the education of his son, tells him that some fathers send their sons ' to the studious universities ' and that Valentine ' Attends the emperor in his royal court,' and advises him to send his son there also. There, he says, he will

> ' Hear sweet discourse, converse with noblemen,
> And be in eye of every exercise
> Worthy his youth and nobleness of birth.'

Although Bacon's profession was law he studied many other subjects, including medicine.

In *Pericles*, Act III. Scene ii., Cerimon says :—

> ' 'Tis known, I ever
> Have studied physic, through which secret art,
> By turning o'er authorities, I have,
> Together with my practice, made familiar
> To me and to my aid, the blest infusions
> That dwell in vegetives, in metals, stones.'

Lady Anne Bacon's letters show that Bacon in the earlier part of his life was attended by Welsh servants, to whom she had a strong objection.

The numerous Welsh characters introduced in the plays show that the person responsible for them was well

acquainted with the peculiarities and the speech of Welsh people.

Bacon is best known to the world as a Natural Philosopher.

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act I. Scene ii., the Soothsayer says :—

> ' In nature's infinite book of secrecy
> A little I can read.'

Lady Anne Bacon's letters also show that the associates of Francis Bacon in his younger days did not meet with her approval, and Ben Jonson in his *Discoveries*, under the heading of Dominus Verulamius, says that Bacon was an orator who entranced his hearers and held them as under a spell.

In *Henry V.*, Act I. Scene i., the Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking of the King, says :—

> ' When he speaks,
> The air, a charter'd libertine, is still,
> And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,
> To steal his sweet and honey'd sentences ;
> So that the art and practic part of life
> Must be the mistress to this theoric :
> Which is a wonder how his grace should glean it,
> Since his addiction was to courses vain,
> His companies unletter'd, rude, and shallow,
> His hours filled up with riots, banquets, sports.'

In putting these words into the mouth of the Archbishop was not Bacon drawing from the experiences of his own life ? The passage was not in either of the Quarto editions of *Henry V.*, it was added when the play was revised for the purpose of publication in the First Folio.

Mallet in his *Life of Bacon* says that ' in his conversation he [Bacon] could assume the most different characters, and speak the language proper to each, with a facility that was perfectly natural ' ; and Osborn said of him, ' I have heard him entertain a country lord in the proper terms relating to hawks and dogs, and at another time out-cant a London chirurgeon.'

Similar gifts are attributed to Henry the Fifth in the

plays. In *Henry IV.*, Part I. Act II. Scene iv., the Prince says :—

> ' I am so good a proficient in one quarter of an hour, that I can drink with any tinker in his own language during my life.'

Bacon's early life was a continual struggle. Left little money by his father's will, he worked at the Bar, but for many years failed to get on. He had looked in vain for preferment from his uncle Burleigh. He knew what it was to be heavily in debt. His proposal of marriage to a widow of the name of Hatton had been rejected and the lady had accepted the hand of his life-long enemy Coke, brushing aside the eight objections that her friends had urged against the latter, namely, Coke's seven children and Coke himself. Coke had been appointed Attorney-General over his head and Bacon had had ample experience of Coke's enmity. All this I hold is referred to in the well-known soliloquy of Hamlet in Act III. Scene i. of the play where he speaks of

> ' The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
> . . . the whips and scorns of time,
> The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
> The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
> The insolence of office, and the spurns
> That patient merit of the unworthy takes.'

In this play of *Hamlet* the character of Polonius is a caricature of Lord Burleigh. In fact, it has been stated that ' Polonius is not so much a satire as a portrait of Lord Burleigh.' There can, I think, be no doubt about this ; for Burleigh is clearly identified.

Early in his life Burleigh had been offered the Secretaryship by Queen Mary, provided that he changed his religion. His answer was :—

> ' I have been taught and am bound to serve my God first, and next my Queen.'

In Act II. Scene ii. Polonius says to the King :—

> ' I hold my duty, as I hold my soul,
> Both to my God and to my gracious king.'

Burleigh was the chief minister of Queen Elizabeth. Polonius was the chief minister of King Claudius.

Burleigh had been educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and in the time of Elizabeth and James this College was famous for its dramatic representations. In Act III. Scene ii. we have :—

'HAM. My lord, you played once i' the university, you say ?
POL. That did I, my lord ; and was accounted a good actor.
HAM. What did you enact ?
POL. I did enact Julius Caesar : I was kill'd i' the Capitol ; Brutus killed me.
HAM. It was a brute part of him to kill so capital a calf there.'

Notice the play on the words 'Brutus' and 'brute,' 'Capitol' and 'capital.' Ben Jonson said that Bacon was unable to pass by a jest.

The ten precepts given by Burleigh to his son Robert when the latter was leaving for Paris are well known. The ten precepts given by Polonius to his son Laertes when the latter was also leaving for Paris are still better known.

Burleigh relied on the help of spies in his administration. It was this among other things that made him unpopular. Polonius does the same, and in Act II. Scene i. even goes so far as to instruct one of his spies to watch and report the doings of his own son. He even turns spy himself, and it is this that brings about his death, or as Hamlet puts it, he is 'hoist with his own petard.'

We know the history of Burleigh's public life—it is practically the history of the statemanship of the reign of Elizabeth—but we know very little about his private life or of what sort of man he was personally. Now if Polonius was intended to represent Burleigh—and I think there can be no doubt that he was—then the play of *Hamlet* gives us some insight as to Burleigh's personality. All caricatures are exaggerations, and no doubt in the character of Polonius Burleigh's peculiarities are exaggerated in a by no means friendly manner.

Polonius is represented as a man whose conversation is prolix and pedantic—see his remarks to the King and the Queen in Act II. Scene ii. referring to Hamlet's supposed madness. He is wordy, he wanders in his talk. He loses the thread of his thought and says : 'By the mass, I was about to say something : where did I

leave ? ' Hamlet says of him : ' Let the doors be shut upon him, that he may play the fool no where but in 's own house,' and he calls him ' a wretched, rash, intruding fool,' one of ' those tedious old fools,' and ' a foolish prating knave.'

Gervinus, in his *Shakespeare Commentaries*, considering the character of Polonius, says :—

> ' Of Hamlet's father we hear those proud, often-quoted words, the most splendid epithet of a great man :
>
> " He was a man, take him for all in all,
> I shall not look upon his like again."
>
> What a contrast to this is Polonius ! The exact design of this contrast can never have been perceived by those who endeavoured to place this character in a favourable light, an endeavour which is not worth refutation. If Polonius' bad and ridiculous qualities had been even partially concealed by his good ones, why should Hamlet enjoin the players when he commits them to *him*, the father of his beloved, to " mock him not " ? Why should he say in the presence of his daughter, that her father is a fool ? Why should he call him a tedious old fool ? Why moreover would he say over his corpse, that he was " in all his life a foolish prating knave " ? We see him commit no especial acts of knavery, but we see him indeed in a service and employ by no means over-honourable ; for crooked ways, for aside thrusts, for eaves-dropping, he has an unwearied predilection, to which he at length is sacrificed ; he meddles with everything, and gains a scent of his son's doings and actions even in Paris, not so careful for the virtue as for the outward behaviour of his children, neither of whom he trusts. The man hunts out everything, and binds himself, " if circumstances lead him," to find where truth is hid, " though it were hid indeed within the centre " ; but the transactions at the death of the old Hamlet and the marriage of his widow he has never surmised, or if he has, like a genuine courtier he has neither feeling nor opinion on the matter. It is just such company as this, that a King like Claudius requires ; upon state affairs he asks him nothing, but on domestic things he hears him greedily, willingly accepts his empty eloquence, and excuses his confidence of opinion. Arrived at a ripe age, the schooled courtier lacks not experience and observation, which he has carefully gathered and loquaciously gives forth ; the self-conceit of emptiness is apparent in him, and with the same self-sufficiency he gives good precepts to his son, a lesson on human nature to his servant, and counsels to his King. In his fancied craftiness he considers himself a man of wisdom and great circumspection, and he builds with confidence upon the infallibility of his head. We all know the insolence of the self-

complacent, positive man, who even in the face of events which give the lie to his prophecies, declares that he had anticipated everything as it has come to pass; we all know the fool with a good memory for wise sayings; and the eloquent man, who speaks with greater wisdom than he possesses, until unawares he betrays more of his folly and ignorance than he wished. Such a man is Polonius. It costs him nothing to tell the lie that will reflect upon himself the acuteness of having perceived Hamlet's love for Ophelia, before he was told of it. He then accurately sees through the gradual progress of the madness of Hamlet, who is perfectly in his senses. He wishes to understand everything, to be acquainted with everything, to have been everything: a clever actor—an assertion, at which we feel tempted to reflections similar to those which Hamlet expresses on it; a madman suffering "Much extremity for love," like Hamlet, from which we may gather so much, that he was an old sinner. He seeks to stand well with all, for however positive he may be, he yields just as readily to the opinions of others; and if people ridicule him, he affects, says Goethe, not to observe it; one would rather believe, that for the most part he actually does not observe it. In this manner, he gets on with every one, except with Hamlet; in the presence of this deeper nature, which lies quite beyond his reach, he is helpless; then the simpleton always comes to light, although he esteems the prince to be a madman. Hamlet too, is just as little able to accommodate himself to him. He hates too thoroughly the shallowness and falsehood of the character, to attempt to conceal his aversion, even where the most ordinary consideration would have demanded it from the lover of Ophelia, towards the daughter of the father, or towards the father of the daughter.'

As I have said, I have no doubt that the caricature of Burleigh in the play is an exaggeration, but I cannot help thinking that it gives us some sort of insight as to what sort of man Burleigh was as an individual.

The question then arises: Who was the man who wrote this caricature?

Two things seem to me to be certain. First, he must have been somebody who did not like Burleigh and had some sort of grudge against him, otherwise he would not have held him up to ridicule. Second, he must have been somebody who knew him personally, who must have associated with him intimately, and who must have been well acquainted with his personal peculiarities, otherwise he would not have been able to hold him up to ridicule.

There is nothing to show that Shaksper of Stratford disliked Burleigh or ever had any grudge against him, and to suggest that a person in his position could have had any intimate personal acquaintance with anybody in the position of Burleigh would be absurd. The social position of an actor in the time of Elizabeth and James is mentioned elsewhere in these Notes.

It is very different in the case of Bacon. Burleigh was his uncle and the most influential man in the country. Bacon had hoped to get preferment from him, but Burleigh had both private and public reasons for not advancing him in the State; he was frequently asked, but he always refused. Anthony Bacon had spent many years in France and Italy in government service without pay. On his return to England he applied to Burleigh for some post that would enable him to recoup the expenses that had been defrayed out of his own pocket; but Burleigh did nothing. The two brothers resented Burleigh's treatment and joined the faction of the Earl of Essex, and at one time even went so far as to try to oust Burleigh from his post and get Essex appointed in his place. Bacon had known Burleigh from his childhood, had associated with him intimately all his life, and must have been well acquainted with his personal peculiarities. No man had more reason, and no man was better qualified to write the caricature.

Bacon had been accustomed to Court life from his childhood. He was well acquainted with its intrigues; he knew how hard it was to rise and how hard it was to retain a position when it had been attained. In 1618 he became Lord Chancellor and, as Keeper of the King's Conscience, obtained the highest post in the State that any layman, not of royal blood, can hold; only to lose it three years afterwards. After his fall he realised how hard it was to leave a Court that he had known so long.

Belarius, in *Cymbeline*, Act III. Scene iii., speaks of

> 'The art o' the court,
> As hard to leave as keep; whose top to climb
> Is certain falling, or so slippery that
> The fear 's as bad as falling.'

It is important to remember that although according to Halliwell-Phillipps[1] the play of *Cymbeline* was acted in 1611, that is ten years before Bacon's fall, it was not printed till 1623, that is two years after his fall, when it was published for the first time in the First Folio. The subject of the revision of the plays for the purposes of publication in the First Folio is considered later in these Notes.

In the days of his prosperity Bacon was lavish with his money, he spent and gave right and left, he laid up no store for future bad times, with the result that when these bad times came he had little wealth. Some of his associates, such as Sir Toby Matthew and Ben Jonson, were still faithful to him, but others were not.

This is brought out in *Timon of Athens*, which on the authority of Halliwell-Phillipps was not known until the publication of the First Folio in 1623. This play describes the ungrateful behaviour of parasitic friends, and in it Bacon satirises his own prodigal and over-generous use of the wealth that he had previously possessed. Flavius is faithful to Timon after his fall in the same way that Sir Toby Matthew and Ben Jonson were faithful to Bacon after his fall.

In *Henry VI.*, Part II. Act IV. Scene vii., Lord Say makes the following remarks to Cade and his followers, who intend to behead him :—

> 'Justice with favour have I always done ;
> Prayers and tears have moved me, gifts could never
> When have I aught exacted at your hands,
> But to maintain the king, the realm, and you ?
> Large gifts have I bestowed on learned clerks,
> Because my book preferr'd me to the king,
> And seeing ignorance is the curse of God,
> Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> This tongue hath parley'd unto foreign kings
> For your behoof,—
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Great men have reaching hands : oft have I struck
> Those that I never saw, and struck them dead.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> These cheeks are pale for watching for your good.
>
> . . . . . .

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

Long sitting to determine poor men's causes
Hath made me full of sickness and diseases.

. . . . . .

Tell me wherein have I offended most ?
Have I affected wealth or honour ? speak.
Are my chests fill'd up with extorted gold ?
Is my apparel sumptuous to behold ?
Whom have I injured, that ye seek my death ?
These hands are free from guiltless blood-shedding,
This breast from harbouring foul deceitful thoughts.'

These remarks fit in absolutely with Bacon's position at the time of his fall. Like Lord Say he did not deny that he had received gifts, but he denied that these gifts had ever influenced his judgments. He had been a faithful servant to the King and the State. He had given his time and his money in an endeavour to impart knowledge to his fellow men. As a judge he had administered justice, and that his decisions were just is shown by the fact that no attempt was ever made to alter his judgments. He had not been extortionate and he had harboured no foul thoughts.

It is important to notice that the above-mentioned lines do not appear in any of the Quarto editions of *The Contention* ; they appear for the first time in the First Folio, that is, two years after Bacon's trial and seven years after the death of Shaksper of Stratford.

Again, take the well-known soliloquy of Wolsey in *Henry VIII.*, Act III. Scene ii., beginning ' Farewell, a long farewell to all my greatness,' and his remarks to Cromwell that follow. They fit in word for word with what must have been Bacon's feelings after his fall. If he had been writing of himself by name he could not have described his condition in more fitting terms. The description of Wolsey put into the mouth of Griffith in Act IV. Scene ii. lines 48 to 57, would apply equally well to Bacon.

There is a misstatement of historical fact in the play of *Henry VIII.*, a misstatement of fact moreover that reflects an incident in Bacon's life.

History tells us that on the fall of Wolsey Henry VIII. sent two peers, namely the Duke of Norfolk and the

Duke of Suffolk, to demand the surrender of the Great Seal, and that on the fall of Bacon James I. sent four peers to demand the surrender of the Seal from him, namely, the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Arundel. In the play of *Henry VIII.* four peers come to Wolsey to demand the Seal, namely, the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Surrey, and the Lord Chamberlain. The presence of the Duke of Norfolk and the Duke of Suffolk is historically correct, but the presence of the Earl of Surrey and the Lord Chamberlain is historically incorrect.

If Shaksper of Stratford wrote the play it is not likely that he would have made an historical mistake that agreed with an event that occurred many years after his death in Bacon's life. Not only are two peers represented as being sent to Wolsey who were never sent to him, but they have the same titles as two of the four who were sent to Bacon, although their titles are disguised. Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel, was Earl of Arundel and Earl of Surrey, and the Lord Chamberlain in 1623, the date when the First Folio was published, was the Earl of Pembroke. That this is another instance of Bacon drawing on the experiences of his own life I have no doubt ; and he evidently took care not to make the matter too clear. He mentions Arundel by his second title and Pembroke by his official title.

There is a passage in *Henry VIII.* that reflects an incident in Bacon's life that happened shortly before his fall.

Bacon had opposed the proposed marriage of Sir John Villiers, the brother of the Duke of Buckingham, with the daughter of Sir Edward Coke, and in doing this had offended the Duke. Having given way to the Court favourite, Macaulay in his ' Essay on Lord Bacon ' tells us that

> ' He ventured to present himself before Buckingham. But the young upstart did not think that he had yet sufficiently humbled an old man who had been his friend and his benefactor, who was the highest civil functionary in the realm, and the most eminent

man of letters in the world. It is said that on two successive days Bacon repaired to Buckingham's house, that on two successive days he was suffered to remain in an antechamber among foot-boys, seated on an old wooden box, with the Great Seal of England at his side.'

In Act v. Scene ii., where Cranmer is outside the council-chamber waiting for an audience, surrounded by servants and pages, Doctor Butts passes by on his way to the King, and we have :—

> ' CRAN. (*Aside*) 'Tis Butts,
> The king's physician : as he pass'd along,
> How earnestly he cast his eyes upon me !
> Pray heaven, he sound not my disgrace ! For certain,
> This is of purpose laid by some that hate me—
> God turn their hearts ! I never sought their malice—
> To quench mine honour : they would shame to make me
> Wait else at door, a fellow counsellor,
> 'Mong boys, grooms, and lackeys. But their pleasures
> Must be fulfill'd, and I attend with patience.
>
> *Enter the* KING *and* BUTTS *at a window above.*
>
> BUTTS. I 'll show your grace the strangest sight—
> KING. What 's that, Butts ?
> BUTTS. I think your highness saw this many a day.
> KING. Body o' me, where is it ?
> BUTTS. There, my lord :
> The high promotion of his grace of Canterbury ;
> Who holds his state at door, 'mongst pursuivants,
> Pages, and footboys.
> KING. Ha ! 'tis he, indeed :
> Is this the honour they do one another ?
> 'Tis well there 's one above 'em yet. I had thought
> They had parted so much honesty among 'em,
> At least, good manners, as not thus to suffer
> A man of his place, and so near our favour,
> To dance attendance on their lordships' pleasures,
> And at the door too, like a post with packets.
> By holy Mary, Butts, there 's knavery.'

To my mind the remarks of the King seem to suggest that there was knavery on the part of those who had plotted to bring about Bacon's fall.

According to Halliwell-Phillipps[1] *The Tempest* appeared in 1611 ; but it was first printed in 1623. What

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

the play of 1611 was like one cannot say, as nothing is known about it. The play that is known, that is the one published in the First Folio in 1623, contains many allusions to Bacon's later studies, such as, *The History of the Winds*, *The Ebb and Flow of the Sea*, and *The Sailing of Ships*.

Writing from the Tower in 1621, that is after his fall, Bacon says :—

> 'When I am dead, he is gone that was always in one tenor, a true and perfect servant to his master, and one that was never author of any immoderate, no, nor unsafe, no, (I will say it), no unfortunate counsel, and one that no temptation could ever make other than a trusty and honest, and thrice-loving friend to your lordship.'

This description of Bacon's services to a friend suggests the words in *The Tempest*, Act I. Scene ii. :—

> 'I prithee,
> Remember I have done thee worthy service ;
> Told thee no lies, made thee no mistakings, served
> Without or grudge or grumblings.'

It has been claimed that *The Tempest* is Bacon's literary testament, and there are certainly some remarks that seem to identify Prospero with him. For example, in Act I. Scene ii. Prospero refers to

> 'My brother, and thy uncle, called Antonio—
> I pray thee, mark me, . . .
> . . . he whom, next thyself,
> Of all the world I loved.'

He refers to himself as

> 'being transported
> And rapt in secret studies.'

As

> 'all dedicated
> To closeness and the bettering of my mind.'

And he says :—

> 'Me, poor man, my library
> Was dukedom large enough.'

Whether Prospero was intended for Bacon or not, one

thing is certain, namely, that they had a habit in common. Speaking of sleep, Bacon says :—

> ' Immediately after dinner, or at four of the clock, I could never yet find resolution and strength enough in myself to inhibit it.'

In *The Tempest*, Act III. Scene ii., Caliban, laying his plan with Stephano and Trinculo for the murder of Prospero, states :—

> ' Why, as I told thee, 'tis a custom with him
> I' th' afternoon to sleep.'

I take it that the argument of those who hold that *The Tempest* is Bacon's literary testament is somewhat as follows :—

The Island is the stage. Bacon is the Great Magician at whose command ' graves have waked their sleepers, oped, and let 'em forth by my so potent art.' ' Deeper than did ever plummet sound I 'll drown my book,' refers to Bacon's silence as to the part he had taken in the plays published in the First Folio. Stephano, who has stolen the wine (that is the poetry) and who is for some time regarded as the King of the Island, but who at the close of the play casts off his false crown, is Shaksper of Stratford, and Caliban, who says when he knows the truth, ' What a thrice double asse was I to take this drunkard for a God,' represents the general public, or in other words Ben Jonson's ' sluggish gaping auditor.'

There can be no doubt whatever that Shaksper of Stratford was no great believer in the benefits of education. He was born in an atmosphere of ignorance. It is very questionable whether his father could write. Sir Sidney Lee thinks he could, Halliwell-Phillipps doubts it. His mother could not even sign her name. If he was the author of the plays he must have educated himself, and it is impossible to think that a man who would have known so well the benefits of education could have allowed his children to grow up without any education whatever. But Susannah, his eldest daughter, was unable to recognise her husband's writing, and his daughter Judith could not sign her name. This does

not fit in very well with the lines in *The Taming of the Shrew*, Act I. Scene i. :—

> ' I will be very kind, and liberal
> To mine own children in good bringing up.'

Sir Sidney Lee [1] says it is probable that in 1596 Shaksper of Stratford visited Stratford, and though living in London continued to visit Stratford every year. In 1596 Susannah was about thirteen years old, and Judith about eleven ; so if he had been in any way interested in education he could have taken care that his daughters should not be brought up in ignorance. In addition to this there is nothing to show that after his final retirement to Stratford he took any interest in intellectual pursuits, and there is no evidence that he possessed any books. Halliwell-Phillipps [2] says that ' exclusive of Bibles, Church Services, Psalters and Educational Manuals, there were certainly not more than two or three dozen books, if so many, in the whole town.' Speaking of the question as to whether Shaksper of Stratford had a library, he says that he ' ever owned one at any time of his life is exceedingly improbable.'

The Shakespeare plays cannot be properly studied without a library ; how then could they have been written without one ?

The person responsible for the plays took a very different view of education, and denounced ignorance with the utmost scorn, as the following extracts show :—

> ' O thou monster Ignorance, how deformed dost thou look ! '
> (*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act IV. Scene ii.)

> ' I say there is no darkness but ignorance.'
> (*Twelfth Night*, Act IV. Scene ii.)

> ' And seeing ignorance is the curse of God,
> Knowledge the wing wherewith we fly to heaven.'
> (*Henry VI.*, Part II. Act IV. Scene vii.)

> ' The common curse of mankind, folly and ignorance, be thine in great revenue.'
> (*Troilus and Cressida*, Act II. Scene iii.)

But, say the Shaksperians, if Shaksper of Stratford was the ignorant person that the Baconians make him

[1] *Life of Shakespeare.* [2] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

out to be, why should a man like Bacon have made use of him ?

I do not believe that Shaksper of Stratford was the ignorant rustic that some have tried to make him. I believe he was a shrewd man of business, with a keen eye for the main chance, who got on well in the world ; that he was an actor of some reputation, though never a great one, and a kind of stage manager with some experience of what the public of the time required. He was just the sort of man that Bacon would employ for the special work he had in hand.

Bacon in his ' Essay of Negociating ' says :—

> ' In choice of Instruments it is better to choose men of a plainer sort. . . . Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed ; for that quickeneth much.'

Shaksper of Stratford was a man of the ' plainer sort,' and a man who affected the business wherein he was employed ; for he was a ' man-player,' and a ' man-player ' only, as will be shown later on.

Bacon in his ' Essay of Envy ' says :—

> ' We said in the beginning, that the Act of Envy, had somewhat in it, of Witchcraft ; so there is no other cure of Envy, but the cure of Witchcraft : And that is, to remove the Lot (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort of great Persons, bring in ever upon the Stage, some Body, upon whom to derive the Envie, that would come upon themselves ; Sometimes upon Ministers and Servants ; Sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates ; and the like ; And for that turne, there are never wanting, some Persons of violent and undertaking Natures, who so they may have Power, and Businesse, will take it at any Cost.'

Shaksper of Stratford was a person of ' undertaking ' nature, whose business was to obtain plays for the company of actors to which he belonged. He conducted his business well and made a good deal of money out of it. He ran some risk in fathering *Richard II.*

In the *Confession of the Rosicrucian Fraternity*, published in 1615, is the following :—

> ' For conclusion of our Confession we must earnestly admonish you, that you cast away, if not all, yet most of the worthless books of pseudo chymists, to whom it is a jest to apply the Most Holy

Trinity to vain things, or to deceive men with monstrous symbols and enigmas, or to profit by the curiosity of the credulous; our age doth produce many such, one of the greatest being a Stage Player, a man with sufficient ingenuity for imposition.'

The points touched on in the previous part of this section of my Notes are summed up by G. C. Bompas in *The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays* as follows :—

'It seems as difficult to fit in scenes and subjects of these plays, as their language and learning into the life of Shakspere [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford].

'Genius, in every case, takes colour from its surroundings, however it may transmute them.

'Walter Scott wrote of mediaeval romance, and of Scottish history and homely life; Robert Burns of "Banks and Braes" and rustic beauty; Dickens invested vulgar life with picturesqueness, humour, and pathos; Thackeray wrote tales of the Charterhouse; Disraeli, political novels; Gladstone, Homeric dissertations. Shakspere's [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford's] receptive genius, if he really possessed it, must have absorbed the scenes and customs of his Warwickshire home, as George Eliot did, and then the vivid variety of town life when he came to London. With a mind so filled, but with little book-learning, in what form is his genius supposed to burst out? French politics, Italian novel, Roman history, Spanish romance, Danish legend, Latin play, French wars and the battle of St. Albans.

'It is a tissue of improbabilities which multiply by geometrical progression into the impossible. But all fit naturally and exactly into the life of Francis Bacon, and reflect its varying colour.'

Although I have taken the dates for the various plays as given by Halliwell-Phillipps[1] I should mention that certain critics consider that some of these plays were produced much earlier. Many of them when they first appeared were not in the same form as they now are in the First Folio edition of 1623. They were from time to time revised. The various Quarto editions show this.

Now as the First Folio edition of a play is, in many cases, a revision of the first Quarto edition of that play, so that first Quarto edition may have been a revision of some earlier form of the play that had never been published or, if published, has been lost; this earlier play

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

being perhaps a mere sketch as compared with the existing finished play.

Love's Labour's Lost was the first play that was published under the name of Shakespere. The first notice of it according to Halliwell-Phillipps was in 1597, but some critics have dated its production at 1589 and others as early as 1584 or 1585.

The play shows familiarity with aristocratic Court life in France, with which Bacon was familiar, it brings on the stage a king and his courtiers with whom Bacon must have become acquainted during his attendance on Sir Amias Pawlett, the scene is laid in a district that Bacon is known to have visited, and the characters express somewhat unusual views on the subject of Love that were held by Bacon but not made public till 1612 when the 'Essay of Love' was published. In Act v. Scene ii. the King of Navarre and his attendant lords approach the Princess of France and her attendant ladies disguised as Russians. Their object is to press their suit with the ladies. In 1584 Russian Ambassadors came to the Court of Elizabeth seeking an English wife for the Russian Tsar. There can be little doubt that the visit of these Ambassadors suggested the scene in the play, and there can be little doubt that Bacon, as an *habitué* of Elizabeth's Court, knew all about the visit.

If *Love's Labour's Lost* was produced in 1589, then Bacon fits in well enough as the person responsible for it. But Shaksper of Stratford does not fit in in any way. He was either an ostler or, at the best, a call boy in Burbage's theatre ; he had never been to France, knew nothing whatever about French Court life, had never met the King of Navarre, or any of his courtiers, and is hardly likely to have known of the visit of the Russian Ambassadors. If the play was produced in 1584 or in 1585 the authorship of Shaksper of Stratford becomes still more improbable.

It has been claimed that *The Comedy of Errors* appeared as early as 1576. In that year a *History of Errors* was played at Hampton Court before Queen Elizabeth by the 'children of Pauls,' and it is claimed that this was the

first sketch of *The Comedy of Errors* that we now know. It is also claimed that the same play, under the title of *A Historie of Ferras*, was performed before the Queen at Windsor in 1581.

In 1579 Stephen Gosson, in his *School of Abuse*, mentions as an existing play *The Jew showne at the Bull*, 'representing the greediness of worldly choosers and bloody minds of usurers.' It has been claimed that this was the sketch that finally developed into *The Merchant of Venice*.

Stephen Gosson also states that a play called a *History of Caesar and Pompey* was also acted in 1579. It has been claimed that this was the sketch that finally developed into *Julius Caesar*.

In 1584 a play called *Felix and Philomena* was acted at Court. It has been claimed that this was the sketch that finally developed into *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

It is also claimed that the play of *Hamlet* was acted in 1584 or 1585.

Any one who wishes to inquire into the question of these earlier dates for the plays should read G. C. Bompas' book, *The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays*.

Now, if these early dates are correct and if the author of these various sketches was also the author of the finished plays, then the question whether Shaksper of Stratford was or was not the author is settled once and for all. He could not possibly have been the author.

The Comedy of Errors is founded on the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, which in 1576 had not been translated; so the author of the sketch must have been a scholar. The sketch was played at Court; so the author must have had access to the Court.

In 1576 Shaksper of Stratford was only twelve years old and was still at school. He could not have gained enough classical knowledge to be able to translate Plautus, and he could not have got the play acted at the Court of Elizabeth.

It should be remembered that in 1594 there were great doings at Gray's Inn, and *The Comedy of Errors* was acted in Gray's Inn Hall under the direction of Francis Bacon,

The play of *The Merchant of Venice* is taken from Italian sources and the part relating to the Jew from an Italian novel that in 1579 had not been translated; so the author of the sketch must have been an Italian scholar. The scene is partly in Venice and partly in Belmont, the seat of Portia; so it may be assumed that the author knew something about Italy.

In 1579 Shaksper of Stratford was fifteen years old, and was engaged in helping his father in the business of a butcher. What possible chance could he have had of learning Italian, and what could he possibly have known about Venice or Belmont?

Could a butcher's assistant of fifteen have written the sketch that eventually became *Julius Caesar*?

The Two Gentlemen of Verona was founded on Montemayor's romance of *Diana*, which had not been translated in 1584; so the author of the sketch must have been acquainted with Spanish. The scene is Verona, Milan, and Mantua; so the author must have known something about these places. The sketch was acted at Court; so the author must have had sufficient influence at Court to get the play acted before the Queen.

In 1584 Shaksper of Stratford was twenty years old, and was still helping his father in the business of a butcher. What chance could he have had of learning Spanish, what could he have known about Verona, Milan, or Mantua, and what influence could a butcher's assistant in a country town have had to enable him to get his play acted before the Queen?

The play of *Hamlet* is drawn from the *Histoires Tragiques* of Belleforest, which was not translated until 1608; so the author must have known French. The scene is laid in Denmark; so the author must have known something about that country.

In 1585 Shaksper of Stratford was in much the same position that he had been in 1584; he was still at Stratford, and still helping his father in the butchering business. As to his knowledge of French, I am not aware that even the most enthusiastic Shaksperian has ever stated that the study of French formed part of the curriculum of the

Stratford Free School, and I have never heard of any tradition to the effect that Shaksper of Stratford was wont to while away the intervals between the killing of his father's sheep or oxen by the perusal of a French grammar, although Aubrey says that when he killed a calf ' he would doe it in a high style, and make a speech.'

It has been claimed that the play of *Twelfth Night* appeared as early as 1584 or 1585, and that it was a satire on some of the members of Elizabeth's Court. It has been argued that Malvolio is a skit on Raleigh, who was then Elizabeth's Chamberlain, that the Clown is intended for Dick Tarleton, the Court Jester, that Sir Toby Belch is intended for Sir William Knowllys, the Controller of the Household, that Sebastian is Robert Devereux, afterwards the Earl of Essex, and that Viola is his sister Penelope, afterwards the notorious Lady Rich.

If the play was written as a Court satire, the person responsible for it must himself have been a member of the Court. Only a member of the Court would have known about the Court gossip, and only a member of the Court would have known how far he could go without causing offence and when he must stop.

In 1585 Shaksper of Stratford was, as previously stated, a butcher's assistant at Stratford ; he had not arrived in London.

It may be that the dates given to the before-mentioned sketches are correct, and it may be that the author of these sketches was also the author of the finished plays ; but if the same person was the author of both sketch and finished play, that person was certainly not Shaksper of Stratford. From what is known of him it must be difficult enough for anybody to believe that he could have written any of the Shakespeare plays at any time of his life ; but to ask anybody to believe that in 1576 he wrote the *History of Errors*, or at the other dates the other sketches before mentioned, is to make too great a demand upon the credulity of any person of ordinary common sense.

I think the whole difficulty with regard to these suggested early sketches can be explained by Bacon's revision of existing plays.

In this section of my Notes I have endeavoured to reply to the Shaksperian belief on the assumption that the plays were written by one man only. For this purpose I have taken Halliwell-Phillipps' dates and have endeavoured to show that if the plays were written by one man, that man is far more likely to have been Francis Bacon than Shaksper of Stratford. I have tried to meet the Shaksperians on their own ground and to reply to them. As I do not believe that the plays as we now have them were written wholly by one man, it may be that some of the remarks in this section may not quite tally with what will appear later. I consider it wise to make this statement lest I should be charged with inconsistency.

REASON 2

The person responsible for the plays, whoever he may have been, was an aristocrat, a philosopher, a Latin and Greek scholar, a French and Italian linguist, a broad-minded Protestant, and a lawyer; was familiar with Court life, and possessed a phenomenal vocabulary.

An Aristocrat

Any one who reads the poems carefully must come to the conclusion that their author was aristocratic both by birth and nature. *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, both treat of very questionable matter, but the subjects are treated with the greatest possible refinement.

Shaksper of Stratford was born of illiterate parents, spent the first twenty years of his life in the squalid surroundings of an insignificant country town, and not long before the publication of the poems had, according to tradition, been an ostler. It is not possible that a man with such an origin and with such surroundings could have treated the subjects of *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, with the refinement evinced in these poems. Moreover, one would have expected to find in them, particularly in *Venus and Adonis*, some Warwickshire words or phrases if he had been the author; but there is not a Warwickshire word or phrase in the whole poem.

A perusal of the plays shows that the person responsible for them had a strong dislike for anything that was low, common or vulgar.

All the plays, with the exception of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, deal with Courts, or Kings, or Princes, or people in high life. When people of the lower classes are introduced they are usually made to appear ridiculous. The sympathy of the writer is clearly with characters like Lord Say, Julius Caesar, Coriolanus, and Mark

Antony, and not with the people. The manner in which crowds of the lower class take first one side and then the other, according to the views expressed by the speaker addressing them, shows that he had a very low opinion of the mental capacities of the lower orders of the people.

In the Introduction to *Henry IV.* Part II., we have :—

> ' Rumour is a pipe
> Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures,
> And of so easy and so plain a stop
> That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
> The still-discordant wavering multitude,
> Can play upon it.'

In *Henry VI.*, Part II. Act IV. Scene viii., when Cade speaks to the crowd, they all cry out :—

> ' We 'll follow Cade, we 'll follow Cade ! '

And when Clifford addresses them, they at once turn round and cry :—

> ' A Clifford ! A Clifford ! we 'll follow the king, and Clifford.'

And Cade remarks :—

> ' Was ever feather so lightly blown to and fro as this multitude ? '

In *The Merchant of Venice*, Act II. Scene ix., the Prince of Aragon speaks of the people as

> ' The fool multitude, that choose by show,
> Not learning more than the fond eye doth teach.'

All this agrees with Bacon's views.

In the Charge against Talbot he says :—

> ' Your Lordships see what monstrous opinions these are, and how both these beasts, the beast with seven heads, and the beast with many heads,—pope and people,—are at once let in.'

In his ' Essay of Superstition,' he says :—

> ' The Master of Superstition is the people ; and in all superstition, wise men follow fools. . . . Care would be had, that (as it fareth in ill purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad ; which commonly is done, when the people is the reformer.'

Speaking of praise in his ' Essay of Praise,' he says :—

> ' If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught : and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous : for the common people understand not many excellent virtues : The

lowest virtues draw praise from them; the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all.'

R.M.Theobald in *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, speaking of the views expressed in the plays with regard to the people, says :—

'It need scarcely be remarked that such absolute want of sympathy with the common people could not possibly have been expressed by a man of low, if not peasant rank, who all his life belonged to a class which was treated as composed of vagabonds and outcasts. For William Shakespeare [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford] to have thus written would stamp him as an ill bird, fouling his own nest,—a true son of Ham exposing his own father's nakedness.'

The plays and the poems show that the person responsible for them had a considerable knowledge of heraldry. Lines 54 to 72 of *Lucrece* are an example.

Heraldry was a courtly science with which Bacon would be familiar; but Shaksper of Stratford, as a low-class inhabitant of a country town, would know nothing of it in his youth, and in 1594 would have had no opportunity of acquiring the knowledge during his stable occupation, or his business as call boy, or when he was beginning to make his way as an actor.

Again, take the delicate fairy lore of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*. This does not deal with English fairy lore that a provincial lad might have learnt from his mother, but with the French romantic stories of Huon of Bordeaux, with the *Chansons de Gestes*, and such courtly literature, of which it is hardly likely that Shaksper of Stratford had ever heard and which he is not likely to have ever read.

It has been claimed that the knowledge of hunting and falconry shown in the plays is in favour of the authorship of Shaksper of Stratford; but, on the contrary, it is evidence in favour of Bacon.

The knowledge shown in the plays is not that of deer-stealing or rabbit-catching, with which Shaksper of Stratford may have been familiar; it is the knowledge of the aristocrat drawn from such books as *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*, and Turbervile's *Book of Faulconrie*,

both published in 1575. Shaksper of Stratford would have had little chance of seeing these books; Bacon would have had many chances, both at Gorhambury and in London.

A Philosopher

The plays show that the person responsible for them was a philosopher. He was a man who had not only thought things out for himself, but one whose mind had been highly trained by the careful study of the philosophical writings of others, particularly by the study of the philosophical writings of the Greeks and the Romans.

There is not the slightest scrap of evidence to show that Shaksper of Stratford ever took any interest in philosophy.

More will be said later about Bacon's philosophy, so I will only mention now that the philosophy of the plays is the same as the philosophy of Bacon, and that some of it appeared in the plays before it was published in Bacon's acknowledged works.

A Latin and Greek Scholar

Some Shaksperians seem to admit that Shaksper of Stratford was a classical scholar, others, such as Andrew Lang,[1] consider that he was not, and that all the classical references that are to be found in the plays can be accounted for by the education at the Stratford Free School, by the use of translations, and by the help of construes obtained from the numerous classical scholars who were in London at the time the plays were written.

I do not think this latter view can be upheld for a moment. The mind of the person responsible for the plays was absolutely saturated with classical knowledge, and it was not of a kind that could be acquired at a school for boys or obtained from translations or construes.

R. M. Theobald[2] has treated this subject very fully in Chapters xiii. and xiv. of his book. He says :—

> 'The evidence that the true Shakespeare—the real author of the plays and poems—was a classical scholar, is many sided and

[1] *Shakespeare, Bacon, and the Great Unknown.*
[2] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

of various kinds : and if his unscholared authorship is to be proved, it is not enough to explain the origin of particular passages,—the whole evidence must be taken broadly and comprehensively. This evidence may be gathered into four different classes.

'1. First, the classical allusions must be considered,—passages evidently suggested by parallel passages in the classical writers. These are very numerous, and they are by no means confined to the classical plays,—nor are they always essential to the construction of the plays in which they occur. They are not such a use of classical knowledge as can be explained by cram or coaching for the special occasion. They are spontaneous outpourings from a well-stored mind, ready to give out its wealth at all times of discourse,—quite capable of producing anything dressed in a plain home-spun garb,—forced by the necessities of its own culture to supply allusive decoration or learned plumage. Classic embellishment of this kind must be taken as a *primâ facie* indication of classic scholarship in the writer.

'2. Next, it must be admitted that the classical plays give the same indication as all the rest, of classic knowledge and tone, with the additional evidence derived from their subject matter. It is, of course, possible that the special study required, in order to collect material for these plays, may have been undertaken by a clever student not otherwise skilled in classic lore, an ingenious appropriator of the information to be derived from translations. This explanation, however, is not easy. After Plutarch has been emptied of his treasures, the mode in which they are appropriated and assimilated shews a mind familiar with the classic region—not averse to the use of translations in order to save time and trouble, but quite able to dispense with them, or to go beyond and outside of them. The classic aroma in these classic plays is not easily accounted for by coaching explanations.

'3. A good many instances of classic construction are to be found,—sentences cast in grammatical forms not properly speaking English at all, which require to be parsed or construed by the Latin Grammar. Such a style could not have been acquired by a mere English scholar. No writer, however well-informed, could have written them unless he had been accustomed to the use of the Latin language as a medium of expression for his own thoughts, or had read extensively and with facility in Latin literature.

'4. This kind of evidence is still further heightened by the frequent use of Latin words,—or words which, although English (perhaps even very familiar in vernacular usage), are yet derived from the Latin, and are so used as to show that the writer is not limited by their imported significance, but can follow them into the wider and more varied range of meaning, or else into the different and more restricted meanings, which they possess in their original form This also is evidence which cannot be disposed of by any appeal to translations. It shews that the writer

could use the Latin language as a mother, or perhaps stepmother tongue,—could probably read, write, and think in it, and had been accustomed to employ it in all these ways.'

Having made these statements R. M. Theobald proceeds to prove them ; and he proves them conclusively.

It is not possible to believe that Shaksper of Stratford could have been the classical scholar that the person responsible for the plays and the poems must have been. He was at a boys' school for six years only, at the most, and finished any classical education he may have got there at the age of thirteen. A butcher's assistant is not the kind of man who studies Latin and Greek, and even if after he came to London he had had any desire to improve his classical learning, he could not have obtained books wherewith he could study, for there were no free libraries in those days.

Bacon is known to have been a classical scholar, and as a member of Gray's Inn he could obtain from the Gray's Inn library any books he might require.

There is a somewhat strange example of the classical bent of the mind of the person responsible for the plays in the trial scene of *The Merchant of Venice*, Act IV. Scene i., where Shylock says :—

> ' As there is no firm reason to be render'd,
> Why he cannot abide a gaping pig ;
> Why he a harmless necessary cat ;
> Why he a woollen bag-pipe.'

A cat is a useful animal, but nobody could consider it a necessary animal in the meaning that is generally given to the word ' necessary,' and the phrase ' a harmless necessary cat ' seems to be nonsense. But the person responsible for the play uses the word ' necessary ' with the same meaning that Cicero uses the word ' necessarius ' in the phrase ' mors hominis necessarii ' ; so the meaning of ' a harmless necessary cat ' is ' a harmless friendly cat,' or ' a harmless domestic cat.'

A French and Italian Linguist

Shaksperians are divided on the question as to whether Shaksper of Stratford was a linguist or not. Those who

say that he was are met with the same difficulty that I have just mentioned with regard to Latin and Greek; namely, where could he have obtained the books wherewith to study or from which he could obtain his ideas? Sir Sidney Lee[1] says it is improbable that he ever went abroad; so he could not have learnt French or Italian on the Continent.

Those who hold that he was not a linguist say that he picked up his knowledge of modern languages from the various foreigners he met at the inns and taverns in London. There may be something in this. He may have picked up a little French and a little Italian in this way, but not enough to enable him to write a whole scene in French, as is done in Act III. of *Henry V.*, and not enough to enable him to read *Saluste du Bartas* in the original, which the author of *Venus and Adonis* must have done; for the picture of the horse is taken word for word from that writer, and there was no translation of *Du Bartas* till after the publication of *Venus and Adonis*.

As to the knowledge of Italian possessed by the person responsible for the plays, Othello says in Act III. Scene iv. :—

> 'A sibyl, that had number'd in the world
> The sun to course two hundred compasses,
> In her prophetic fury sew'd the work.'

In Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* we find :—

> 'Una donzella della terra d'Ilia,
> Ch'avea il furor profetico congiunto
> Con studio di gran tempo, e con vigilia
> Lo fece di sua mano di tutto punto.'

The remark of Othello is obviously suggested by this passage in Ariosto, and the importance of the point is this. There was a translation in existence at the time, and one only—it was by Harington—but in this translation the words 'prophetic fury' do not appear. It follows that the person who wrote or revised Othello must have read Ariosto in the original Italian.

The improbability, I may say the impossibility, that Shaksper of Stratford had any knowledge of Italian and

[1] *Life of Shakespeare.*

the certainty that Bacon had, has already been mentioned. It is not possible that any one could pick up enough Italian by frequenting inns and taverns to enable him to read Ariosto in the original.

A Broad-minded Protestant

There can, I think, be no doubt that the person responsible for the plays was a Protestant. His sympathies were clearly with the newly established English Church and he had a strong dislike to Roman Catholicism. Take for instance the altercation between Pandulph, the Pope's legate, and the King in the play of *King John*, Act III. Scene i., and the whole of *Henry VIII.*, which is essentially a Protestant play. But he was not a bigoted Protestant. He makes fun of the Puritans in a playful manner, and many of the Roman Catholic priests are depicted as good men who do good deeds.

John Shaksper, the father of Shaksper of Stratford, was a Papist, and was one of the recusants presented for not going to church in accordance with the law of Elizabeth's time, and Halliwell-Phillipps thinks that Shaksper of Stratford was of the same belief as his father. The Rev. Richard Davies stated in 1685 that Shaksper of Stratford was a Roman Catholic, and Halliwell-Phillipps[1] considers that this statement 'does not admit of rational question.'

Bacon's family had been Romanists under Mary and were Protestants under Elizabeth. The result was that Francis Bacon had no strong bias in favour of either side; he was a Protestant, but a broad-minded Protestant, and not a bigoted Puritan like his mother.

In a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, he says :—

> 'In the first place, be you yourself rightly persuaded and settled in the true Protestant religion professed by the Church of England, which, doubtless, is as sound and orthodox in the doctrine thereof as any Christian Church in the world.'

Later on in this letter, speaking of the Church of England, he says :—

> 'The enemies and underminers thereof are the Roman Catholics, so styling themselves, on the one hand, whose tenets are incon-

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

sistent with the truth of religion professed and protested by the Church of England, whence we are called Protestants, and the Anabaptists and Separatists and Sectaries on the other hand.'

The *King John* of the First Folio was, I believe, founded on an earlier play called *The Troublesome Reign of King John*. This earlier play was written, I think, by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker and subsequently revised by Bacon. Drayton and Dekker were both Protestants, and the original play contained virulent and bitter hits at the Roman Catholic Church, which are toned down considerably in the First Folio play. Collier, speaking of the person responsible for the First Folio play, says :—

'He avoids the scenes of extortion and ribaldry in the older play in which the monks and nuns are turned into ridicule and the indecency and licentiousness of their lives exposed.'

The broader-minded view shown in the First Folio play is evidence of Bacon's handiwork.

An example of the religious tolerance of the person responsible for the plays is found in *The Winter's Tale*, Act. II. Scene iii., where Paulina says :—

'It is an heretic that makes the fire,
Not she which burns in 't.'

This I claim is another instance of Bacon's handiwork.

A Lawyer

It is only those who have had a legal training who can appreciate the great knowledge of law that the person responsible for the plays must have had.

The Shaksperians used to say that Shaksper of Stratford learnt his law in a lawyer's office, but now that Sir Sidney Lee [1] has definitely stated that he never was in a lawyer's office they have to find some other source, and they say that he learnt his law from the legal cases in which his father was concerned at Stratford, from the actions in which he himself was concerned, and from listening in the London Law Courts.

Such a suggestion is ridiculous. The law of the plays is of a totally different kind to that which any person

[1] *Life of Shakespeare.*

could possibly have picked up from the petty legal matters of a country town, from the comparatively insignificant actions brought by or against a tradesman, from the legal cases in which Shaksper of Stratford was concerned, which mainly related to money debts, or from strolling into and listening in the London Law Courts.

Bacon was a student of law from the age of nineteen and continued its study all his life.

Knowledge of law is perpetually cropping up in the plays; it appears as an illustration or an explanation in the most unexpected manner. Law seems to be part of the writer's mind, and he cannot get away from it. The subject of the legal knowledge shown in the plays is a very large one, and I think I cannot do better than quote the opinions of some well-known lawyers who have written about it.

Lord Campbell remarks as follows:—

> 'There is nothing so dangerous as for one not of the craft to tamper with our freemasonry.' 'Let a non-professional man, however acute, presume to talk law, or to draw illustrations from legal science in discussing other subjects, and he will speedily fall into laughable absurdity.'

Lord Campbell says that the person responsible for the plays had

> 'A deep technical knowledge of the law,'

and was familiar with

> 'some of the most abstruse proceedings in English jurisprudence.' 'Whenever he indulges this propensity he invariably lays down good law.' 'If Lord Eldon could be supposed to have written the play [*Henry IV.*, Part II.] I do not see how he could be chargeable with having forgotten any of his law while writing it.'

Lord Campbell points out that the gravedigger's scene in *Hamlet*, Act v. Scene i., shows that the person responsible for the scene had an accurate knowledge of the law regarding suicide as discussed in Hales *v.* Petit (*Plowden's Reports*, 1578).

It is hard to believe that Shaksper of Stratford ever read the report of this case; but it would be Bacon's

duty as a barrister to read it. Shaksper of Stratford could not have heard the arguments in Hales *v.* Petit while listening in the London Law Courts, for in 1578 he was a butcher's assistant at Stratford.

I now 'take the opinion' of Lord Penzance.

He speaks of the writer's

'perfect familiarity with not only the principles, axioms, and maxims, but the technicalities of English law, a knowledge so perfect and intimate that he was never incorrect and never at fault.'

He says :—

'The mode in which this knowledge was pressed into service on all occasions to express his meaning and illustrate his thought, was quite unexampled. He seems to have had a special pleasure in his complete and ready mastership of it in all its branches. As manifested in the plays, this legal knowledge and learning had therefore a special character which places it on a wholly different footing from the rest of the multifarious knowledge which is exhibited in page after page of the plays. At every turn and point at which the author required a metaphor, simile, or illustration, his mind ever turned first to the law. He seems almost to have thought in legal phrases, the commonest of legal expressions were ever at the end of his pen in description or illustration. That he should have descanted in legal language when he had a forensic subject in hand, such as Shylock's bond, was to be expected, but the knowledge of law in *Shakespeare* was exhibited in a far different manner: it protruded itself on all occasions, appropriate or inappropriate, and mingled itself with strains of thought widely divergent from forensic subjects.'

'To acquire a perfect familiarity with legal principles, and an accurate and ready use of the technical terms and phrases not only of the conveyancer's office but of the pleader's Chambers and the Courts of Westminster, nothing short of employment in some career involving constant contact with legal questions and general legal work would be required. But a continuous employment involves the element of time, and time was just what the manager of two theatres had not at his disposal. In what portion of Shakespeare's [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford's] career would it be possible to point out that time could be found for the interposition of a legal employment in the Chambers or offices of practising lawyers?'

Richard Grant White says :—

'Shakespeare uses his law just as freely in his early plays, written in his first London days, as in those produced at a later period.

Just as exactly, too ; for the correctness and propriety with which these terms are introduced have compelled the admiration of a Chief Justice and a Lord Chancellor.'

It has been pointed out that of 250 points treated in the plays, 201 of them are stated with more or less fulness in Bacon's legal tracts.

The Shaksperians would have us believe that Shaksper of Stratford acquired all this legal knowledge from actions brought by or against his father, from his own experience in law cases relating to small pecuniary debts, or from strolling into the London Law Courts. The whole idea is absurd.

Familiarity with Court Life

It has been stated previously that the person responsible for the plays must have been familiar with Court life. How could Shaksper of Stratford have acquired this familiarity ? Certainly not during the early days at Stratford or during the early days in London. The Shaksperians say that he acquired his familiarity with Court life while acting in plays at Court. Such a claim is not reasonable. An actor who appeared now and then in a play at Court would have no opportunity of acquiring this knowledge. His time would be taken up on the stage, he would have had little chance of mixing with the members of the Court, and even if he had had the chance it is not likely that the courtiers would have had anything to do with an actor.

The position of an actor in the days of Elizabeth was not what it is now. He was looked down upon as a sort of vagrant, and it is not likely that any one at Court would have had anything to do with him. Halliwell-Phillipps [1] says that ' even the vocation of a dramatic writer was considered scarcely respectable.'

According to Sir Sidney Lee [2] Shaksper of Stratford did not take part in a play at Court till 1594. But the three plays of *Henry VI.*, which show knowledge of Court life, appeared in 1592 at the latest ; so the claim that he gained this knowledge by acting at Court fails.

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.* [2] *Life of Shakespeare.*

Bacon was born into Court life. His father was Lord Keeper, his uncle was the great Lord Burleigh, his cousins were Maids of Honour to Elizabeth, and his most intimate friends were men like Essex, Southampton, and Pembroke.

A Phenomenal Vocabulary

The vocabulary of a man of average education is said to be somewhere about 3000 words. Max Müller estimated the vocabulary of Milton at 8000 words and that of the Shakespeare plays, poems, and sonnets at 15,000 words. Professor Craik [1] puts the vocabulary of Shakespeare still higher, and estimates it at 21,000 words.

We are asked to believe that a rustic, who left school when he was thirteen years old and of whose education even his latest biographers can give no trace, had this phenomenal vocabulary. This is a difficult matter for the Shaksperians to explain; but they endeavour to get over the difficulty by saying that Shaksper of Stratford was a genius.

What is meant by a genius?

I take it that a genius is a person born with a brain that has an abnormal power of absorption, an abnormal power of retaining what it has absorbed, and an abnormal power of reproducing what it has absorbed and retained.

There may have been many persons born with such a brain, but they will not become geniuses unless they have had something for them to absorb, such as books to study, or the thoughts of others to consider. A man may be born with a brain fitted to make him a genius, but there is no such thing as a born genius. Yet we are asked to believe that Shaksper of Stratford was born with a vocabulary of 15,000 or possibly 21,000 words, that is, from two to three times that of Milton and from five to seven times that of a man of average education, and with the power of writing the most beautiful English that the world has ever known. Such a thing is not asking us to believe in genius, it is asking us to believe in a miracle.

Bacon, by anglicising from the Latin and French,

[1] *History of English Literature and Language.*

introduced a vast number of new words into the English language; they have been numbered by the thousand, and many of them still survive and are now in daily use. Industrious persons who have investigated the subject tell us that, excluding from Bacon's acknowledged works absolute technicalities of law and science and from the plays absolute colloquialisms, oaths, etc., it is found that the average in the prose works of words that are also in the plays is 97 per cent.

G. C. Bompas [1] says that a student of Shakespeare compared Bacon's *History of Henry VII.* with the play of *King John* and

> 'found in these two works alone 22 metaphors used in both, several catchwords often repeated in both, 9 or 10 peculiar phrases used in both, 20 or more words peculiar or used in an unusual sense occurring in both; he found, indeed, 21 passages in one scene of the play (Act II. Scene ii.) with corresponding passages in three pages of the history, and concludes that the only rational hypothesis is, that the same mind employed the same words in both cases.'

A young lawyer of Gray's Inn wrote a letter to Anthony Bacon describing Francis Bacon's first appearance in the King's Bench as a Counsel. He said that the most marked feature of the new pleader was 'the unusual words wherewith he had spangled his speech.' Some of his sentences appear to have been almost too obscure for the capacities of his hearers. Here we have Bacon, the first time he spoke in Court, exhibiting one of the prominent characteristics of the person responsible for the plays; namely, the possession of a phenomenal vocabulary, and the use of new and unique words.

If it were possible for any one man to possess such a vocabulary as 21,000 or 15,000 words, then Francis Bacon is the most likely man to have possessed it; but if the vocabulary of a man of average education is only 3000 words and that of Milton 8000 words, it appears to me impossible that any one man could have had such a phenomenal vocabulary as 21,000 or even 15,000 words. This appears to me to be a great difficulty when considering the argu-

[1] *The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays.*

ment that Bacon wrote the Shakespeare plays. I may add that the same difficulty would present itself if Shaksper of Stratford was the author.

As I have stated before, I do not believe that Bacon wrote the whole of the plays as we have them at the present time. I believe that he revised existing plays that had been previously written by other men, leaving in a large part of the existing writing, touching up and improving other portions, and adding a large amount of his own. If this view is correct, then the vocabulary of the plays is not that of Bacon only, it is the vocabulary of Bacon and nine other authors at the least, and the difficulty as to the phenomenal vocabulary is non-existent.

An argument of the Shaksperians, often mentioned, is that Bacon was a voluminous writer, and if the Shakespeare plays be added to his acknowledged works his literary productions would be too voluminous for any one man to have produced ; and, moreover, that he was too busy as a lawyer, counsellor, member of Parliament, and confidential adviser to the sovereign to have had any spare time for play-writing.

But Bacon's occupation in law and politics was small up to 1607, when he was forty-six years old and was appointed Solicitor-General. He complained that he wanted employment. Writing to Burleigh when he was thirty-five years of age, he said : ' My life hath been so private as I have had no means to do your Lordship's service.' As to his employment by the Queen, he said : ' Her service was a kind of freehold.' He stated that his own private studies occupied him more than his public engagements. It was during this period, that is up to his forty-fifth year, when he had little public work and was engaged in what he called his private studies, that the majority of the plays appeared. His more important philosophical works did not begin to appear till 1605. Up to this date there is nothing to account for his private studies and literary pursuits.

Now, what were these private studies and literary pursuits ?

My belief is that he was engaged in revising plays that eventually came out under the name of Shakespeare.

If in addition to his acknowledged works Bacon also wrote the poems and revised the plays, this would not make him an exceedingly voluminous writer. R. M. Theobald [1] puts the matter somewhat as follows.

Taking Spedding's edition of *Bacon's Life and Works* as a basis, it is found that his acknowledged literary productions are comprised in a little more than 3000 pages, and this includes his speeches. Now, he was an accomplished scholar at twenty and died when he was sixty-six years of age ; so if he wrote for forty-six years this is only an average of less than seventy pages a year, or less than six pages a month.

If he revised the thirty-seven Shakespeare plays between the age of twenty and forty-five, this would average about a play and a half each year, and if he revised them between the age of twenty and the date of the publication of the First Folio it would average less than one play each year. The production of seventy pages of prose writing and a play and a half, or of seventy pages of prose writing and one play each year, is not an impossible work for a man of ability, and the total literary output would be less than that of Sir Walter Scott or Miss Braddon.

Bacon had in his service a number of ' good pens ' engaged in work of some sort. Writing to his brother Anthony from Twickenham in 1595, he says : ' I have here an idle pen or two. . . . I pray send me somewhat else for them to write out.'

Now there would be nothing startling in his employing these idle pens late in his life when he was busy revising and republishing his previous acknowledged works, but why should he require them in 1595 ? No great philosophical work appeared till 1605 ; but twenty-three plays and two poems were produced between 1593 and 1604. If these ' good pens ' were engaged in writing out copies of these plays for actors at the theatre, then their employment can be understood. However, whatever their

[1] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

employment may have been, they would considerably lighten the labours of a voluminous writer.

In Henslowe's *Diary* many plays are mentioned, some of them with titles similar to those of the Shakespeare plays, which were written in collaboration by some of the well-known play-writers of the time, such as Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, Thomas Heywood, Michael Drayton, Antony Monday, John Webster, and Thomas Middleton. I believe that Bacon took these plays and worked upon them, his marvellous power of language turning the ordinary phrases and thoughts of other men, as by the touch of a magician's wand, into the wonderful productions that we now have. If he worked on such a system as this the time taken would not be very great. He would not have had to create from the beginning; he would have had a skeleton to start with, and on it he could have grafted his living words and phrases, and added his philosophy. As I have stated elsewhere in these Notes, this was a scheme of writing that Bacon commended.

REASON 3

Francis Bacon was the author of Venus and Adonis *and of* Lucrece, *and produced them both under the* nom de plume *of William Shakespeare.*

Venus and Adonis and *Lucrece* were published in 1593 and 1594 respectively, under the name of William Shakespeare, and for about 300 years William Shakespeare has been supposed to be Shaksper of Stratford. However, the *Satires* of Hall and the *Satires* of Marston show clearly that William Shakespeare was not Shaksper of Stratford and tell us who William Shakespeare was.

Joseph Hall was born in 1574 and died in 1658. He was the headmaster of Blundell's School, became Bishop of Exeter, and subsequently Bishop of Norwich. He was a moral satirist, a good literary critic, and, as can easily be understood, he objected strongly to such a poem as *Venus and Adonis*.

John Marston is well known as a writer of plays and of satires. The date of his birth is not known for certain, but it has been stated that he was a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and that he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1592. He is believed to have died in 1634. He has been described as ' a chaste and pure writer, avoiding all obscenity, ribaldry, and scurrility,' but the term ' chaste ' can hardly be applied to his poem *Pigmalion's Image*, although, as I shall show, he attempted to give reasons for writing it

Lines 199 and 200 of *Venus and Adonis* are :—

> ' Art thou obdurate, flinty, hard as steel,
> Nay, more than flint, for stone at rain relenteth ? '

Marston in his verses, *The Author in Prayse of his*

precedent Poem, placed at the end of *Pigmalion's Image*, says :—

> ' So Labeo did complain his love was stone,
> Obdurate, flinty, so relentless none.'

Now there can be no possible doubt that Marston is here referring to *Venus and Adonis* and that Labeo is a nickname for the author of the poem. The only alternative would be that Labeo is Venus, for the words are spoken by her. But this is not possible, for Labeo is a man and complains that ' his ' love is stone. It therefore becomes important to find out who Labeo is.

In 1902 an enthusiastic Shaksperian wrote to *Notes and Queries* saying that the above passage from Marston showed that Shaksper of Stratford had large lips ; as according to *Smith's Latin-English Dictionary*, ' labeo ' meant ' one who has large lips.' If he had consulted *Smith's Classical Dictionary* he would have found three Labeos mentioned, two of whom were well-known lawyers in the time of Augustus and the third the commander of a fleet. Shaksper of Stratford was neither a lawyer nor a sailor, so the nickname ' Labeo ' does not point to him. Bacon was a lawyer, so he would fit in well enough.

Both Hall and Marston used nicknames for persons whose identity it is not now easy to determine. Labeo, however, can be easily identified, and in order to do so it is necessary to go back to the literary war waged for some time between Hall and Marston.

Hall starts first with his *Virgidemiarum* or *Harvest of Rods*. The publication is in two parts. The first part, called the *Toothless Satires*, contains Books I., II., and III., and was published in 1597. The second part, called the *Byting Satires*, contains Books IV., V., and VI., and was published in 1598. Marston followed with his *Certaine Satyres* published in 1598, and the *Scourge of Villanie* published in 1599. In 1599 these publications of Hall and Marston, together with *Pigmalion's Image*, were ordered to be destroyed at the instance of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Barlow, Bishop of London.

It seems strange that Whitgift, who ordered the de-

struction of the satires and of *Pigmalion's Image*, should have allowed the publication of *Venus and Adonis*. One would have thought that an ecclesiastic in his position would have objected to the poem as much as Hall did. But it must be remembered that Whitgift was a friend of Bacon and had been his tutor at Cambridge. The following lines at the end of the third satire of Book I. of the *Scourge of Villanie* seem to show that there may be something in this point :—

> ' Nay, shall a trencher slave extenuate
> Some Lucrece rape, and straight magnificate
> Lewde Jovian lust, whilst my satyrick vaine
> Shall muzzled be, not daring out to straine
> His tearing paw ? '

These lines clearly refer to the Shakespeare poems, and Marston seems to complain that his satiric vein is muzzled, while the freedom of the press is readily granted to lewd poems fathered by Shaksper of Stratford, a mere trencher slave.

I now return to Hall. The first satire of Book II. of his *Toothless Satires* begins :—

> ' For shame ! write better Labeo, or write none :
> Or better write ; or Labeo, write alone.
> Nay, call the Cynic but a wittie foole,
> Thence to abjure his handsome drinking bowl ;
> Because the thirstie swaine, with hollow hand,
> Convey'd the streame to weet his drie weasand.
> *Write they that can, tho' they, that cannot, doe :*
> *But who knows that ; but they that do not know.*'

It is evident that Labeo, whoever he may be, has written something that Hall strongly disapproves of. The extract that I have already given from the verses at the end of Marston's *Pigmalion's Image* shows that the writing of Labeo that Hall objects to, is the poem of *Venus and Adonis*, and I shall show that later on in his satires Hall himself identifies *Venus and Adonis* as the writing he is referring to.

Hall obviously did not regard Labeo as a moral writer, and at the end of the second line he tells him to ' write alone.' This shows that in some way or other another name is mixed up with the objectionable production. Now there would be two explanations of this ; namely,

either that Labeo had written in collaboration with somebody else, or had written under the name of somebody else.

But everybody who reads *Venus and Adonis* must admit, and every commentator who has touched on the subject has admitted, that *Venus and Adonis* is the work of one author and of one author only. There is no possible question either of collaboration or of the revision of the work of another person.

But any question that might be raised on this point is settled by the next four lines of the extract. The key to these four lines is the Latin distich from Ovid prefixed to *Venus and Adonis* :—

> ' Vilia miretur vulgus, mihi flavus Apollo
> Pocula Castaliâ, plena ministret aquâ.'

Hall depicts ' the Cynic ' (Labeo, whoever he may be) as abjuring the ' handsome drinking bowl ' (pocula plena) because ' the thirstie swaine ' (the other man mixed up with the production of the poem) ' with hollow hand convey'd the streame ' (the poetic stream from the Castalian fountain) ' to weet his drie weasand.' In plain English, Labeo is a fool, because, having written a poem, he allows somebody else to have the credit of being the author.

The last two lines of the above extract from Hall are printed in italics, as though to draw special attention to them. They are involved, and perhaps are purposely involved, but I take their meaning to be : ' Let those who can write, write in such manner as they wish, though the result is that those who cannot write are supposed to be authors. But those who know all about the matter cannot speak, for they are supposed not to know.'

After a tirade against the fact that in his day every one tried to write, and that each writer tried to outdo the other in the length of his writings, Hall proceeds :—

> *' There 's so much labour lost,*
> *That 's good, that 's great : nay much is seldome well :*
> *Of what is bad, a little 's a greate deale.*
> *Better is more : but best is nought at all.*
> *Lesse is the next, and lesser criminall.*
> *Little and good, is greatest good save one :*
> *Then, Labeo, or write little, or write none.'*

The above lines are also printed in italics. It looks as though Labeo, like others, had been writing a great deal, and it may be that in the first line there is a hint that among his productions was *Love's Labour's Lost*. *Love's Labour's Lost* was published in Quarto in 1598, with the name Shakespere on the title page. All the previous publications of the Shakespeare plays had been anonymous.

Later on in the satire we have :—

> 'Little for great, and great for good ; all one :
> For shame ! or better write ; or Labeo, write none.'

And it finishes up with :—

> 'For shame ! write cleanly Labeo, or write none.'

We have now got as far as this. Labeo has written a poem that Hall objects to very strongly, and has allowed some other man to get the credit of being the author. There is as yet no hint as to who Labeo is, although the name of the man who has got the credit of being the author is fairly evident.

I now take the first satire of Book IV. of the *Virgidemiarum*, that is the first of the *Byting Satires*, and at line 37 we find the following :—

> 'Labeo is whipt, and laughs me in the face :
> Why ? for I smite and hide the galled-place.
> Gird but the Cynick's helmet on his head,
> Cares he for Talus, or his flayle of lead ?
> Long as the crafty Cuttle lieth sure
> In the blacke cloud of his thicke vomiture,
> Who list complaine of wronged faith or fame,
> When he may shift it to another's name ? '

This extract takes us much further on in our inquiry. It practically tells us who Labeo is, and it tells us definitely the other name on to which Labeo can shift the blame if he is reproved for his improper writing.

Hall tells us that Labeo has been scourged, but that he can laugh at the scourging because his identity has not been divulged. He also tells us that Labeo is a mysterious person who, like a cuttle-fish, has hidden himself under an ink-cloud of his own making, and that he can free himself

from blame by shifting his improper writing on to another name.

An important point to be noticed is that Labeo's main protection is ' the Cynick's Helmet on his head.' The expression is a strange one, for a helmet is not a part of a cynic's equipment. It evidently has some special reference, and I have no doubt what that reference is. Hall clearly refers to ' The Honourable Order of the Knights of the Helmet ' of which Bacon was a member, and about which so much is said in the *Gesta Grayorum*, where the articles of the Order are set out. The name of the Order was taken ' in regard that as the Helmet defendeth the Chiefest part of the body, the head, so did he (the member) defend the head of the state.' The helmet is described in the *Gesta Grayorum* as ' the Helmet of the great goddess Pallas,' and I may mention that in mythology the helmet of Pallas was supposed to make the wearer invisible. Each member when he took his vow kissed the helmet before putting it on. Bacon was responsible for the *Device* performed at Gray's Inn in 1594, and wrote the speeches of the counsellors in this *Device*. In the second counsellor's speech, advising the study of philosophy, the following passage occurs :—

> ' Thus when your Excellency shall have added depth of knowledge to the fineness of spirits and greatness of your power, then indeed shall you be a Trismegistus ; and then when all other miracles and wonders shall cease by reason that you shall have discovered their natural causes, yourself shall be left the only miracle and wonder of the world.'

As Walter Begley remarks in his book, *Is it Shakespeare?* if a man has such a helmet on his head, what need he fear ? The flayle of Talus would be no terror to him.

I think most people of unbiassed mind will agree that the reference to ' the Cynick's Helmet ' makes it clear that the Labeo of Hall is Francis Bacon. Those who do not agree must wait until we come to Marston's *Satires*. But I will finish with Hall before passing on to Marston.

The last two lines of the last-mentioned extract from Hall give us the name on to which Labeo could shift the

blame if he were reproved for his improper writing. It should be noticed that Hall does not say that the blame could be shifted on to another man but on ' to another's name.'

Now what was this name ?

Only one is possible ; namely William Shakespeare, the name that appeared on the *Dedication to Southampton*. Hall knew, and tells us, that Labeo, whoever he may have been, wrote the poem under the *nom de plume* of William Shakespeare.

In the seventh satire of Book IV. of the *Virgidemiarum*, that is of the first book of the *Byting Satires*, Hall says :—

> ' Perdy, I loath a hundred Mathoes' tongues,
> An hundred gamesters' shifts, or landlords' wrongs,
> Or Labeo's poems.'

This shows that by 1598 Labeo had written one poem at least besides *Venus and Adonis*.

In the fourth satire of the same book we find :—

> ' Let Labeo, or who else list to me,
> Go loose his ears and fall to alchymie.'

This shows that Labeo had been interesting himself in the science of alchemy. It also points to Francis Bacon ; for he had studied the science and did not think that the making of gold was an impossibility. This is how his view is expressed in Pierre Amboise's translation of what appears to be Bacon's original draft of the *Sylva Sylvarum* :—

> ' Pour moy, bien que je tienne la chose très-difficile, je ne l'estime pas neantmoins impossible.'

In Rawley's edition of the *Sylva Sylvarum* his view is expressed as follows :—

> ' The World hath been much abused by the opinion of making of Gold : the Worke itself I judge to be possible : But the means (hitherto propounded) to effect it, are, in the Practice full of Error and Imposture.'

Near the end of the one satire that forms Book VI. of the *Virgidemiarum*, that is the third book of the *Byting Satires*, is a long reference to Labeo. It begins :—

'Tho' Labeo reaches right (who can deny ?)
The true strain of heroick poesy :
For he can tell how fury reft his sense,
And Phœbus fill'd him with intelligence :
He can implore the heathen deities
To guide his bold and busy enterprize ;
Or filch whole pages at a clap, for need,
From honest Petrarch, clad in English weed ;
While big But Oh's ! each stanza can begin,
Whose trunk and taile sluttish and heartlesse been.
He knows the grace of that new elegance,
Which sweet Philisides fetch'd of late from France ;
That well beseem'd his high-stil'd Arcady,
Tho' others marre it with much liberty,
In epithets to join two words in one
Forsooth, for adjectives cannot stand alone :
As a great poet could of Bacchus say,
That he was Semale-femori-gena.
Lastly he names the spirit of Astrophel :
Now hath not Labeo done wondrous well ?
But ere his Muse her weapon learn to weild,
Or dance a sober Pirrhicke in the field,
Or marching wade in blood up to the knees,
Her *Arma Virum* goes by two degrees.'

The first two lines of the above show that although Hall disapproved of the subjects on which Labeo had written, he had a high opinion of him as a writer. The remaining lines up to the last four refer to the poems of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. 'Phœbus fill'd him with intelligence' is, I think, a reference to the distich from Ovid placed at the beginning of *Venus and Adonis*, namely :—

'mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula Castaliâ, plena ministret aquâ.'

That is, Phœbus Apollo fills his cup.

The lines, 'For he can tell how fury reft his sense,' and 'He can implore the heathen deities to guide his bold and busy enterprize,' are, I think, references to the early part of *Lucrece*, where Tarquin, speaking to himself about his proposed act, allows his better feelings to be overcome by his furious desire and appeals to the Gods to be auspicious and assist him in his proceedings.

The adaptations from Petrarch, both in the Shakespeare

poems and the Shakespeare plays, have been much commented on. The use of the word 'But' and the exclamation 'O' at the beginning of the stanzas is frequent; there are fourteen instances in *Venus and Adonis* and thirty-one in *Lucrece*. Besides this, a large number of lines in both poems begin with either 'But' or 'O.'

Any one who reads the two poems must be struck with the frequent use of compound adjectives. There are over sixty in *Venus and Adonis* and more than a hundred in *Lucrece*.

Philisides and Astrophel, I need hardly say, were pseudonyms of Sir Philip Sidney, who certainly 'fetched' his style from France and employed it in his *Arcadia*. The influence of Sidney on William Shakespeare, whoever William Shakespeare may have been, is admitted by every commentator. Shakespeare improved the 'new elegance' of Sidney, but others 'marre it with much liberty,' says Hall. I think he is here referring to Nash and Harvey, who overdid the new style by exaggeration.

The last four lines of the above extract refer, I think, to *Titus Andronicus* and possibly to the historical plays of Shakespeare.

I now turn to Marston.

In the verses entitled *The Author in Prayse of his precedent Poem*, placed at the end of *Pigmalion's Image*, are the following lines :—

> 'And in the end (the end of love, I wot),
> Pigmalion hath a jolly boy begot.
> So Labeo did complain his love was stone,
> Obdurate, flinty, so relentless none;
> Yet Lynceus knows, that in the end of this,
> He wrought as strange a metamorphosis.'

I have already stated that the third and fourth lines of this extract show clearly that Labeo is intended for the author of *Venus and Adonis*. If further proof is required it is furnished by the last two lines; for in *Pigmalion's Image* a statue is metamorphosed into a living woman, and in *Venus and Adonis* Adonis is metamorphosed into a flower.

Now, inasmuch as *Pigmalion's Image* and *Certaine Satyres* was published a year after Hall's *Satires* and the *Certaine Satyres* were written in reply to them, it can be taken as a certainty that the Labeo of Hall and the Labeo of Marston is the same person. That is, the Labeo of both Hall and Marston was the author of *Venus and Adonis*, the ' Cynick ' who wore the protecting and invisible-rendering helmet of the great goddess Pallas, the man who had hidden himself like a cuttle-fish under an ink-cloud of his own making, who wrote under the name of another person, who when he was blamed for his improper writing could shift the blame on to ' another's name,' and who, like a fool, had abjured the ' handsome drinking bowl ' and allowed the ' thirstie swaine ' to divert the poetic stream from the Castalian fountain to his own ' drie weasand.'

I have stated that I think many people will agree that the extracts given from Hall are sufficient to show that Labeo is Francis Bacon, but that those who do not agree must wait until I come to Marston.

I now take the fourth of Marston's *Certaine Satyres*. It is headed ' Reactio ' and is a reply to Hall's *Satires*. Marston defends nearly everybody that Hall has attacked, sometimes by mentioning their names and sometimes by referring to their writings. For example, he says that Hall

> ' Like a fierce enraged boare doth foame
> At sacred sonnets. O, daring hardiment !
> At Bartas sweet Semaines raile impudent ;
> At Hopkins, Sternhold, and the Scottish King,
> At all translators that do strive to bring
> That stranger language to our vulgar tongue.
> . . . . . .
> But must thy envious hungry fangs need light
> On Magistrates Mirrour ? Must thou needs detract
> And strive to worke his antient honours wrack ? '

At first sight he does not appear to take any notice of Labeo. This seems strange, for Hall had attacked Labeo more than anybody else. The whole of one satire and a large portion of another are devoted to attacking him, and his name is mentioned altogether twelve times,

However, although Marston does not mention the name of Labeo he tells us who Labeo is. At line 73 we find :—

> ' Fond censurer ! why should those mirrors seeme
> So vile to thee, which better judgments deeme
> Exquisite then, and in our polish'd times
> May run for sencefull tollerable lines ?
> What, not *mediocria firma* from thy spight ? '

The last line means : ' What, does not even *mediocria firma* escape from thy spiteful attack ? '

' *Mediocria firma* ' was Bacon's motto. It can be seen in the Arms above his portrait placed at the beginning of *Sylva Sylvarum* and the 1657 and 1671 editions of the *Resuscitatio*. The line shows that Francis Bacon was the Labeo of both Hall and Marston.

There are two possible objections to this last statement. The first is that *mediocria firma* does not necessarily refer to Labeo and may refer to one of the other persons attacked by Hall that Marston does not mention by name.

The answer to this is that there are no passages in Hall's *Satires* that can possibly be held to refer to Francis Bacon except those in which the name of Labeo appears.

The second possible objection is that *mediocria firma* was the motto of the Bacon family, and therefore may have been meant for another member of the Bacon family.

The answer to this objection is that the only other member of the Bacon family who by any stretch of imagination could be made to fit in with the description of Labeo given by Hall would be Anthony Bacon. But everybody will agree that whoever wrote *Venus and Adonis* also wrote the best portions of the Shakespeare plays. Anthony Bacon died in 1601 and the Shakespeare plays continued to appear long after this date. Moreover, whoever wrote *Venus and Adonis* also wrote *Lucrece*, and conversely, whoever wrote *Lucrece* also wrote *Venus and Adonis*. I will now show that Francis Bacon and neither Anthony Bacon nor Shaksper of Stratford was the author of *Lucrece*.

The opening sentence of the *Dedication to Southampton* is :—

> ' The love I dedicate to your lordship is without end ; whereof this pamphlet, without beginning, is but a superfluous moiety.'

The phrases ' pamphlet without beginning ' and ' superfluous moiety ' are strange, and lead us to look at the beginning of the poem to see if it will throw any light on the subject. If this be done, it will be noticed at once that the poem has no beginning such as one would expect to find. It begins by stating that Tarquin leaves Ardea for Collatium ' inflamed with Lucrece's beauty.' The beginning of the tale is not in the poem, it is in the ' Argument ' prefixed to it.

But this is not the only thing we shall find by examining the beginning of *Lucrece*. In modern editions the first two lines of the poem are :—

> ' FROM the besieged Ardea all in post
> Borne by the trustless wings of false desire.'

If, however, the first edition of 1594 be looked at, it will be found that these lines are printed as follows :—

> ' FROM the besieged Ardea all in post,
> Borne by the trustlesse wings of false desire.'

The above has been taken from the copy of the first edition in the British Museum.

The F is a very large capital letter stretching from the first to the second lines, and, as it were, bounding or circumscribing the R and the B. The R in FROM, the A in Ardea, and the B in Borne are large capitals of the same size. The O and M in FROM are small capitals. All the other letters are in small type.

If we take the very large capital F and the two large capitals R and B at the beginning of the lines we get F^{R}_{B}, and find that Francis Bacon's initials appear at the beginning of the poem.

If we take the very large capital F and the three large capitals R, A, and B, we get FRA, B. So a contraction of Francis Bacon's name, a manner in which it is known that he sometimes signed, appears in the first two lines of the poem. It will be noticed that FRA, B is not only a

moiety of FRA, B/ACON, it is also ' a superfluous moiety '; for it comprises not only a contraction of the Christian name Francis, but also a portion (the B) of the surname Bacon.

The above was noticed and attention drawn to it in 1598 and twice again in 1599, and possibly also in 1616. It was then apparently forgotten for nearly 300 years when it was noticed again by a German investigator.

Marston's *Certaine Satyres* were published in 1598, and in the first satire we find :—

> ' Tell me, browne Ruscus, hast thou Gyges ring,
> That thou presum'st as if thou wert unseene ?
> If not, why in thy wits halfe capreall
> Lett'st thou a superscribed letter fall ?
> And from thy selfe unto thy selfe doost send,
> And in the same, thy selfe, thy selfe commend ?
> For shame ! leave running to some satrapas,
> Leave glavering on him in the peopled presse ;
> Holding him on as he through Paul's doth walke,
> With nodds and leggs and odde superfluous talke ;
> Making men thinke thee gracious in his sight,
> When he esteems thee parasite.
> For shame ! unmaske ; leave for to cloke intent,
> And show thou art vaine-glorious, impudent.'

Here Francis Bacon is identified not only by the ' superscribed letter ' that he has let fall, which is clearly a reference to the very large capital letter F of the FRA, B at the beginning of *Lucrece*, but also by the other remarks. In 1598, having failed to get any preferment from his uncle Burleigh, he had joined the faction of the Earl of Essex, Queen Elizabeth's satrap as Marston calls him, and was still looking to him for some advancement in office. Among Bacon's papers published by his secretary Rawley are letters between Bacon and Essex that have been supposed, both letters and answers, to have been written by Bacon himself. Marston says that Bacon, in his wit ' halfe capreall,' thinks he is unseen, but that he (Marston) has found him out. He calls shame upon him and tells him to unmask.

In 1599 Marston published his *Scourge of Villanie*. The ninth satire is headed, ' Here 's a Toy to mocke an

Ape indeede.' The word 'Ape,' I need hardly say, was a term used for an actor. Marston calls him an 'uncivill groome' and an 'ill-tutor'd pedant.' He says, 'the ape chatters, and is as malcontent as a bill-patch'd doore,' and then proceeds :—

> 'My soule adores judiciall schollership ;
> But when to servile imitatorship
> Some spruce Athenian pen is prentized,
> 'Tis worse than apish. Fie ! be not flattered
> With seeming worth ! Fond affectation
> Befits an ape, and mumping Babilon.
> O what a tricksie, lerned, micking strain
> Is this applauded, senseless, modern vain !
> When late I heard it from sage Mutius' lips,
> How ill, me thought, such wanton jiggin skips
> Beseem'd his graver speech. " Farre fly thy fame,
> Most, most of me beloved ! whose silent name
> One letter bounds. Thy true judiciall stile
> I ever honour ; and, if my love beguile
> Not much my hopes, then thy unvalued worth
> Shall mount faire place, when apes are turned forth." '

In the Introduction to these Notes I have expressed my opinion as to what part I believe Francis Bacon took in the production of the Shakespeare plays, and have stated that (in order, perhaps, to catch the attention of his hearers) he left in a good deal of the writing of the original plays, and that Shaksper of Stratford probably added tags of his own that he knew from experience would suit the taste of the groundlings.

There can be no doubt that in the above extract Marston is referring to Francis Bacon. Bacon's name was a 'silent name,' for he did not write *Lucrece* under his own name but under the *nom de plume* of William Shakespeare. One letter, namely, the very large capital F at the beginning of the first edition of the poem, bounded this silent name (FRA, B).

The reference to actors shows that Marston is referring not only to *Lucrece* but also to such of the Shakespeare plays as had appeared up to 1599, and his remarks fit in exactly with the opinion I have expressed in the Introduction as to the part taken by Bacon in the plays. It is

clear that Marston had noticed that the plays were not all new writing. He calls them the ' servile imitatorship ' of a ' spruce Athenian pen,' thereby showing, by the way, that the person responsible for them was a university man. He admires and praises the portions written by Bacon—' My soule adores judiciall schollership,' and ' Thy true judiciall stile I ever honour '—but he dislikes some of the portions of the old plays left in and the tags put in by Shaksper of Stratford—' O what a tricksie, lerned, micking strain is this applauded, senseless, modern vain ! ' ' How ill, me thought, such wanton jiggin skips beseem'd his graver speech.' Suddenly he bursts forth into the panegyric of praise beginning, ' Farre fly thy fame,' in which he shows that he fully realises the greatness of Bacon's writing, and expresses the hope that his ' unvalued worth shall mount faire place, when apes are turned forth.' In other words, he says that Bacon, ' whose silent name one letter bounds,' will receive the praise he deserves when it is known that Shaksper of Stratford, the actor, the ape, is not the author of the poems or the plays.

The extracts given from the *Satires* of Hall and Marston show that they both had a very high opinion of Francis Bacon as a writer, although Hall objected to the subjects of his poems. Marston disapproved of certain parts of the plays, but does not express disapproval of the subjects of the poems. Nor could he well do so, for he had written *Pigmalion's Image*. A moral can be found in *Venus and Adonis* and in *Lucrece*, but none in *Pigmalion*. Marston seems to have thought that some excuse was necessary, and attempted to give one in the sixth satire of the *Scourge of Villanie*, where he says :—

> ' Curio, know'st my Sp'rite ?
> Yet deem'st that in sad seriousnesse I write
> Such nasty stuffe as in *Pigmalion* ?
> Such maggot-tainted, lewd corruption !
>
> . . . . .
>
> Hence, thou misjudging censor : know I wrot
> Those idle rimes to note the odious spot
> And blemish that deforms the lineaments
> Of moderne poesies habiliments,'

I am afraid the excuse is not a very good one.

Ben Jonson also noticed the $\mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{R}}_{\mathrm{B}}$ at the beginning of *Lucrece*.

The play of *The Case is Altered*, although it was not printed till 1609, must have been written either at the end of 1598 or the beginning of 1599; for it refers to the *Palladis Tamia*, which was written in 1598, and is mentioned by Nash in his *Lenten Stuff*, which was written in 1599. I claim to have proved later in these Notes, in the section treating of contemporary evidence, that in this play the character of Valentine is a skit on Francis Bacon. In Act I. Scene i. Juniper calls Valentine 'a mad hieroglyphic.' There can, I think, be no doubt that this is a reference to the $\mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{R}}_{\mathrm{B}}$. The *New English Dictionary* gives the meaning of hieroglyphic as

> 'A figure, device, or sign, having some hidden meaning; a secret or enigmatical symbol or emblem.'

Jonson had evidently seen Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, in which the $\mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{R}}_{\mathrm{B}}$ is referred to; for in Act II. Scene i. of *Every Man out of his Humour* Puntarvolo speaks of the '*Grand Scourge* or *Second Untruss of the time*,' which Gifford points out is an allusion to it.

I think that Jonson also referred to the $\mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{R}}_{\mathrm{B}}$ again in 1616, although not so clearly as in *The Case is Altered*. In the Dedication of his *Epigrams to the Earl of Pembroke* he writes :—

> 'My Lord,—While you cannot change your merit I dare not change your title; it is that made it, not I. Under which name I here offer to your Lordship the ripest of my studies, my Epigrams; which though they carry danger in the sound, do not therefore seek your shelter; for when I made them I had nothing in my conscience to expressing of which I did need a cipher, &c.'

This may be a reference to the $\mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{R}}_{\mathrm{B}}$; for one of the meanings of a cipher is, 'an intertexture of letters, as the initials of a name.' If it is not a reference, then it is not

easy to say what Jonson did mean. Moreover, as I mention later in the section of these Notes treating of contemporary evidence, he seems to have tried his hand at the same sort of thing in his epigram on Cheveril the Lawyer.

A good deal has been found out by examining the beginning of *Lucrece*; now let us turn to the end of the first edition of the poem and see if there is anything there.

The last two lines are :—

'The Romaines plausibly did giue consent
To Tarqvins euerlasting banishment.'

FINIS.

Draw a line from the 'F' of 'Finis' as above, take the letters on the left hand side of the line, and we get F. Bacon in full.

Walter Begley in *Is it Shakespeare?* says :—

> 'This is a way that some writers have used to get their names upon the title-pages of their works in such a manner as to be there without any one noticing them.'

What authority he has for this statement I do not know. All I will say is that a careful examination of the fine copy of the first edition in the British Museum shows that if a line be drawn in the above manner this result is obtained. The whole book seems to have been very carefully printed.

J. H. Stotsenburg in *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title* points out that the internal evidence shows that Francis Bacon was the author of both *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. The following is a short epitome of some of his points.

There is the frequent use of 'eth' as a termination for the third person singular of the present tense indicative, which though not uncommon at the time the poems were written is particularly conspicuous in the acknowledged writings of Bacon.

There is the frequent use of similes—there are fifty-nine in *Venus and Adonis* and eighty-two in *Lucrece*. Bacon's acknowledged works abound in similes; he seems to

have prided himself upon them. In his Preface to the *Interpretation of Nature*, he says :—

> 'I found in my own nature a special adaptation for the contemplation of truth. For I had a mind at once versatile enough for that most important object—I mean the recognition of similitudes.'

The author of the two poems breaks out into numerous philosophical utterances, which have little to do with the tales and stop their sequence. For example, Venus philosophises on jealousy, nature, love, death, the world, and beauty. In *Lucrece*, ten stanzas are devoted to Tarquin's premeditations upon the dangers of his enterprise, and eight to Solicitation ; while Lucrece uses ten in reply. After the accomplishment of Tarquin's purpose, Lucrece fills up fifteen stanzas with a digressive address to Night, eight more to Opportunity, fourteen more to Time as the master of opportunity, eight more in apostrophising Day, four more in addressing the birds of the morning, and five more in the making of her will. Shortly, the two poems contain essays of the philosopher in verse, and the philosophy is characteristic of Francis Bacon.

The external evidence of Hall and Marston, strengthened by the internal evidence of the poems themselves, shows that Francis Bacon was the author of both *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. The *Satires* of Hall and Marston prove that he was the author of *Venus and Adonis*. The $\mathrm{F}^{\mathrm{R}}_{\mathrm{B}}$ and the references to it by Marston and Ben Jonson prove that he was the author of *Lucrece*. Hall shows that he wrote under a *nom de plume*, and the *Dedication to the Earl of Southampton* shows that 'William Shakespeare' was the *nom de plume* that Francis Bacon adopted.

The question as to the authorship of *Venus and Adonis* and of *Lucrece* is of the greatest importance, and the above is the conclusion I have come to. But the object of these Notes is not to force my opinions on others, but to present my case as clearly as possible, so that anybody who reads the Notes may form his own conclusions. I wish to be fair to those who do not agree with me, and having this object I think it well to state that the arguments contained in the previous pages have

been considered by a leading authority on the subject of the Shakespeare plays and poems, who is not a Baconian and for whose opinion I have a high regard. His criticisms are shortly :—

> ' 1. That the true meaning of Marston's line, " What, not *mediocria firma* from thy spight ? " is " What, was not even *Mediocria* safe (*firma*) from thy spite ? " He states that a highly distinguished Cambridge scholar so read it.
>
> ' 2. " *Mediocria firma* " must stand for Bacon, but does it stand for Labeo ? It seems probable, but it seems difficult to prove it. He adds : " It is only an assumption that Labeo is Bacon." '

I will endeavour to answer these two points.

1. This seems to me rather like hair-splitting. Whether we read ' escape from ' or ' safe from ' the meaning is the same ; so I do not think it necessary to say any more.

2. I believe that the first attempt to identify *mediocria firma* with Labeo was made by the late Walter Begley in his book *Is it Shakespeare ?* that was published in 1903. He also mentions the F^{R}_{B} and the result arrived at by drawing a line from the F of ' Finis ' through the last two lines of the poem of *Lucrece*. This, I think, was first noticed by a German investigator. Now, if the matter had been left as it was by Walter Begley in 1903, then I think it would have been quite permissible to say that ' it is only an assumption that Labeo is Bacon.' But Walter Begley carried the matter further in his *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*. Part of the arguments in the previous pages is taken from that book. I cannot see how with the further evidence that has been got together since 1903 it can now be said it is only an assumption that Labeo is Bacon. Every one will admit that *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* were written by the same man ; therefore, any evidence in regard to the identification of the author of *Lucrece* is evidence also as to the identity of the author of *Venus and Adonis*. I claim that the F^{R}_{B} and the references to it by Marston and Ben Jonson, the result produced by drawing a line from the F of ' Finis ' through the last two lines of *Lucrece*, the statement that the author had attached himself to a satrap and that he wrote letters

to himself, show that Bacon was the author of *Lucrece*, and take the question of the identity of *mediocria firma* and Labeo out of the region of assumption completely.

I hold that whoever wrote *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* also wrote the best portions of the Shakespeare plays. There is a feeling at the present time, especially on the part of the Shaksperians, that parallel passages do not afford reliable evidence as to authorship; but I think that when these parallel passages are numerous they cannot be neglected or treated as of no account.

J. H. Stotsenburg in *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title* gives over one hundred instances of phrases in *Venus and Adonis* that are repeated in the Shakespeare plays. I give a few of them :—

'The field's chief flower, sweet above compare.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 8.)
'Which she hath praised him with above compare.'
(*Romeo and Juliet*, Act III. Scene v.)

'All swoln with chafing, down Adonis sits.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 325.)
'All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye.'
(*Macbeth*, Act IV. Scene iii.)

'Even as an empty eagle sharp by fast.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 55.)
'Were 't not all one, an empty eagle were set
To guard the chicken from a hungry kite.'
(*Henry VI.*, Part II. Act III. Scene i.)
'And like an empty eagle
Tire on the flesh of me and of my son.'
(*Henry VI.*, Part III. Act I. Scene i.)

'But now I liv'd and life was death's annoy.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 497.)
'Good angels guard thee from the boar's annoy.'
(*Richard III.*, Act V. Scene iii.)

In the above extracts the word 'annoy' is used as a noun.

'If springing things be any jot diminished.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 417.)
'Than in possession any jot of pleasure.'
(*Henry VI.*, Part III. Act II. Scene ii.)

'This sour informer, this bate-breeding spy.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 655.)
'Breeds no bate with telling of discreet stories.'
(*Henry IV.*, Part II. Act II. Scene iv.)

'Scorning his churlish drum and ensign red.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 107.)
'The interruption of their churlish drums.'
(*King John*, Act II. Scene i.)

'Finding their enemy to be so curst.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 887.)
'They are never curst but when they are hungry.'
(*The Winter's Tale*, Act III. Scene iii.)
'In faith, she 's too curst.
Too curst is more than curst.'
(*Much Ado About Nothing*, Act II. Scene i.)

In the above extracts the word 'curst' is used with the meaning of 'fierce.'

'Then shalt thou see the dew-bedabbled wretch.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 703.)
'Bedabbled with the dew, and torn with briers.'
(*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act III. Scene ii.)

'And never after ear so barren a land.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, Dedication.)
'And let them go
'To ear the land that hath some hope to grow.'
(*Richard II.*, Act III. Scene ii.)
'He that ears my land spares my team.'
(*All's Well That Ends Well*, Act I. Scene iii.)

'Once more the engine of her thoughts began.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 367.)
'O, that delightful engine of her thoughts.'
(*Titus Andronicus*, Act III. Scene i.)

Fair fall the wit that can so well defend her.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 472.)
'Fair fall the face it covers.'
(*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act II. Scene i.)

'His eye, which scornfully glisters like fire.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 275.)
'Away, and glister like the god of war.'
(*King John*, Act V. Scene i.)

'Beating his kind embracements with her heels.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 312.)
'And then,—with kind embracements, tempting kisses.'
(*The Taming of the Shrew*, Induction.)
'Drew me from kind embracements of my spouse.'
(*The Comedy of Errors*, Act I. Scene i.)

'Art thou obdurate, flinty, hard as steel?'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 199.)
'Thou stern, obdurate, flinty, rough, remorseless.'
(*Henry VI.*, Part III. Act I. Scene iv.)

'My face is full of shame, my heart of teen.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 808.)
'Of sighs, of groans, of sorrow and of teen!'
(*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act IV. Scene iii.)

'With purple tears that his wound wept; was drench'd.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 1054.)
'O, may such purple tears be always shed.'
(*Henry VI.*, Part III. Act V. Scene vi.)

'Then do they spend their mouths: Echo replies.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 695.)
'For coward dogs
'Most spend their mouths when what they seem to threaten
Runs far before them.'
(*Henry V.*, Act II. Scene iv.)

'To the disposing of her troubled brain.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 1040.)
'To the disposing of the Cardinal.'
(*King John*, Act V. Scene vii.)

'She treads the path that she untreads again.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, line 908.)
'Where is the horse that doth untread again
His tedious measures with the unbated fire
That he did pace them first?'
(*The Merchant of Venice*, Act II. Scene vi.)

The inquiry into the possible reason that induced Bacon to adopt the pseudonym of William Shakespeare or William Shake-speare is interesting.

I believe, that with the object of keeping his authorship of the poems secret, he took the pseudonym of Shakespeare or Shake-speare from Pallas the spear-shaking Goddess of Wit. When referring to The Honourable Order of the Helmet I have mentioned that the

helmet was that of the Great Goddess Pallas ; so at the date when the poems were published there was a connection of Bacon with Pallas at Gray's Inn. I believe that he took this pseudonym because he intended to break a lance with, or in other words, to shake a spear against ignorance. Ben Jonson's verses in the First Folio bear this out. Referring to the ' well-torned and true-filed lines ' of the person responsible for the plays, he says :—

> ' In each of which he seems to shake a lance,
> As brandish'd at the eyes of ignorance.'

Walter Begley[1] discusses the coupling together of Bacon, Pallas, and Shakespeare. I will give an epitome of these arguments. Any one wishing to consider them fully should read his book, *Is it Shakespeare?*

In 1595 or 1596, La Jessée, probably the Jean de la Jessée who had been secretary to Francis, Duke of Anjou, from 1570 to 1581, wrote a sonnet ' à Monsieur François Bacon.' The last six lines of this sonnet are :—

> ' Donc (Baccon) s'il edvient que ma Muse l'on vante
> Ce n'est pas qu'elle soit ou diserte, ou sçavante ;
> Bien que *vostre Pallas* me rende mieus instruit
> C'est pource que mon Lut chant sa gloire sainte
> Ou qu'en ces vers nayfz son Image est emprainte ;
> Ou que ta vertu claire en mon ombre reluit.'

Walter Begley points out that what La Jessée seems to wish to convey to Bacon is that his own Muse was not a learned or eloquent one, but that Bacon's Pallas had taught it better how to speak. He then says :—

> ' Pallas was not one of the Muses, nor had Pallas anything to do with law ; what could Bacon have to do with her ? Well, she sprang fully armed from the head of Jove ; she was a learned Goddess ; she was Hastivibans, a Shaker of the Spear or Lance, and she had a vanquished serpent (Ignorance ?) at her feet in Greek sculpture. With the ancient Greeks she was looked upon as the protectress and preserver of the State ; she was the personification of what the Romans called Prudentia Civilis, and what we call Political Science.'

All these characteristics fit Bacon.

This is the first direct coupling together of Bacon and Pallas ; but what had Bacon written in 1596 that could

[1] *Is it Shakespeare?*

have qualified him to be referred to as Pallas ? None of his recognised works of any importance were then known, but six plays at least had appeared, and two poems had been published with the name of Shakespeare in the Dedications.

Walter Begley says [1]:—

> ' Pallas is referred to in a remarkable paper, without heading, docket, or date, found in the Lambeth collection : which paper is further proved by some notes and portions of the rough draft still extant in Bacon's handwriting to be his composition. It is clearly a part of one of the Devices which Bacon was so clever and ready in contriving. It seems to have been a sequel to some former Device of the same kind, in which Philautia, the Goddess of Self-Love, had been represented as addressing some persuasion to the Queen, and is in the form of a letter (in Bacon's handwriting and with his notes for Essex written in the margin !) to the Queen. This letter was most likely intended to come into the Device at the point where the Ambassadors introduce themselves by delivering it to the Queen.'

The first sentence is as follows :—

> ' Excellent Queen, making report to Pallas, upon whom Philautia depends, of my last audience with your Majesty and of the opposition I found by the feigning tongue of a disguised Squire, and also of the inclination of countenance and ear which I discerned in Your Majesty rather towards my ground than to his voluntary, the Goddess allowed well of my endeavour and said no more at that time.'

There is a marginal note, ' Frustra sapit qui sibimet sapit.'

Commenting on the paper Walter Begley says :—

> ' This rough draft of Bacon's composition was intended solely for the eyes of the Earl of Essex, who was the supposed author of the Device, and obtained apparently the whole credit for it from his contemporaries. Bacon's name seems quite kept out of our accounts of the Device, and unless these autograph MSS. had been preserved and discovered, we should never have been sure that these parts of the Device were his own work and not by Essex. . . . Now at the very beginning of the letter or address we find that it is Pallas who is the real framer and originator of the advice to the Queen, and consequently Pallas stands for Bacon. Philautia depends upon him, and we may see in Bacon's marginal note for

[1] *Is it Shakespeare ?*

> Essex's eye a semi-apology to the noble lord through the proverbial hint, " Frustra sapit qui sibimet sapit," *i.e.* It is not always wisdom to trust to your own devices alone. . . . The name Pallas was given *'απὸ τό πάλλειν τὸ δόρυ*, that is, because she was wont to shake her spear, as Servius the scholiast in *Æneid*, i. 43, tells us. She was produced from Jove's head, because Wit or Intellect comes from the head, and she presided over the arts because nothing excels wit or wisdom in the supreme rule of all the arts.'

The sonnet of La Jessée and the above-mentioned paper make it quite clear that the Pallas therein referred to and Francis Bacon were one and the same person. As to whether Pallas was the same person as Shake-speare is a different question, but the attributes of Pallas are so similar to the Shake-speare who seemed ' to shake a lance, as brandish'd at the eyes of ignorance,' that there is nothing unreasonable in thinking that Shake-speare and Pallas were pseudonyms for the same person. I admit that the point is not absolutely clear; but neither would it be clear if Shaksper of Stratford had been the author. As mentioned later, the members of the family of Shaksper of Stratford spelt their name in many different ways, but they never spelt it ' Shakespeare ' or ' Shake-speare.' Why instead of using one of these many forms of spelling he should have adopted ' Shakespeare ' would have been hard to account for, and it would be still more difficult to account for the hyphenated form of ' Shake-speare.'

The reasons that induced Bacon to adopt the pseudonym of William Shakespeare in the poems may not be clear, but that he did adopt it is to my mind made certain by Marston and Hall.

Eleven editions of *Venus and Adonis* were published between 1593 and 1636, and in none of them does the name Shakespeare appear on the title page. Six editions of *Lucrece* were published between 1594 and 1624, and it is not until the fifth edition of 1616, the year of Shaksper of Stratford's death, that the name Shakespeare appears on a title page. The name appears only in the Dedications of the two poems, and these Dedications are addressed to the Earl of Southampton. If the name had appeared on the title pages, or if the Dedications had been

addressed to some one who was not intimate with Bacon, then the argument that Shakespeare was the author's real name and not a pseudonym would be more forcible, although there would still be the difficulty that at the time the poems were published there was no such person as William Shakespeare in existence, or at least there is no satisfactory evidence that such a person existed.

I believe that Bacon, for the reasons hereafter mentioned, considered it advisable to keep his authorship of the poems a secret, and for that purpose put no name on the title pages and dedicated the poems to Southampton under a *nom de plume*. Southampton, as a Gray's Inn man and an intimate friend, would know all about the coupling together of Bacon, Pallas, and Shakespeare, and would know at once that Shakespeare stood for Francis Bacon; but the general public would know nothing about it.

Another reason for Bacon writing under the pseudonym of William Shakespeare is that it is quite probable he knew of the existence of William Shaksper of Stratford; for *Venus and Adonis* was printed by Richard Field, and Field was a Stratford man. It is fairly certain, as Halliwell-Phillipps points out, that Field and Shaksper of Stratford were acquainted with each other, owing to what he calls 'the provincial tie, so specially dear to Englishmen when at a distance from the town of their birth.'[1] Bacon may have heard of Shaksper of Stratford through Field, or may even have met him at Field's printing office. William Shaksper was quite near enough to William Shakespeare for Bacon to take Shaksper of Stratford for his 'Instrument.' The existence of a person with a name somewhat similar to Shakespeare would be an additional reason for the adoption of the particular *nom de plume*, and would enable Bacon if blamed for his improper writing to shift that blame, not only on to another name, but also on to another existing person.

I may add that Sir Sidney Lee, who believes that *Venus and Adonis* was written by Shaksper of Stratford,

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

suggests that although the poem was not published till 1593 it 'lay in the author's desk through four or five summers.'[1] This means that it was written in 1588; that is two years after Shaksper of Stratford arrived in London, when according to Halliwell-Phillipps he was 'all but destitute of polished accomplishments' and had had 'no opportunity of acquiring a refined style of composition,'[2] and when, according to tradition, he was either an ostler or a call boy.

The writer of an article in the September number 1922 of *The National Review*, speaking of J. T. Looney's theory that Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, was Shakespeare, says he had come to the conclusion

> 'that Mr. Looney had proved his case as regards the authorship of *Venus and Adonis*; and that with reference to the authorship of *All's Well*, *Troilus*, *Hamlet*, and *The Sonnets*, his arguments, if not constituting an absolute proof, pointed at least to a high degree of probability.'

It is strange how different things strike different minds. I should have thought that Mr. Looney had made out a much stronger case for Edward de Vere having had something to do with the *Sonnets* than for having had anything to do with *Venus and Adonis*.

It is not my wish to criticise in any unfriendly way the writings of those who do not agree with me, but I think it necessary to say a few words as to what the writer of the article considers Mr. Looney's proof. This proof, as contained in Mr. Looney's book *Shakespeare Identified*, appears to be as follows:—

1. Edward de Vere wrote a short poem of three stanzas on 'Women' that is in the same metre as that of *Venus and Adonis*.

2. Edward de Vere wrote a short poem called the 'Vision of a fair maid, with Echo verses' that contains parallel lines with those in stanzas 139, 140, and 142 of *Venus and Adonis*, and a poem on 'The Lark' that is compared with and apparently considered similar to stanza 143 of *Venus and Adonis*.

[1] *Life of Shakespeare.* [2] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

3. Horsemanship was a very pronounced interest of Edward de Vere, and in *Venus and Adonis* ' we have what is in reality a poem within a poem, amounting to over seventy lines, in which a mere animal instinct is raised to the dignity of a complex and exalted human passion.'

I will endeavour to reply to these three points.

1. I cannot see that the fact that Edward de Vere wrote a short poem in the same metre as that of *Venus and Adonis* is any proof that he wrote this latter poem. The metre of *Venus and Adonis* was a favourite one in 1593. Sir Sidney Lee in his *Life of Shakespeare* says :—

> ' Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* is in the direct succession of both continental and Elizabethan culture, which was always loyal to classical tradition. His metre is the best proof of his susceptibility to current vogue. He employed the sixtain or six-line rhyming *a b a b c c*, which is the commonest of all forms of narrative verse in both English and French poetry of the sixteenth century.'

Edward de Vere's opinion of women as expressed in his short poem is very different from that of Shakespeare's. Edward de Vere regards them as ' fickle,' ' frail,' and changeable. Their love is not ' firm.' He says ' we fawn and flatter ' them ' for disport ' ' to pass the time when nothing else can please.' We ' train them to our lure with subtle oath till, weary of their wiles, ourselves we ease.' It is clear that he had no high opinion of women. He regarded them as merely created for man's pleasures. This is somewhat borne out by the little we know of his personal history.

Shakespeare regarded women from a totally different and a much higher point of view. Cressida no doubt is fickle and inconstant, but she is represented as little more than a courtesan. Shakespeare's regard for women is shown by such characters as Lucrece, Desdemona, Isabella, Viola, and Imogen. They are firm, strong, loyal, and true. They are not depicted as creatures that a man could ' fawn and flatter ' ' for disport ' in order ' to pass the time when nothing else can please.'

2. In order to examine what Mr. Looney calls ' one of the most striking parallels ' I will set out the two sets of

verses he mentions, putting in italics the parallels he specially draws attention to.

VISION OF A FAIR MAID, WITH ECHO VERSES

Sitting alone upon my thoughts in melancholy mood,
In sight of sea, and at my back an ancient hoary wood,
I saw a fair young lady come her secret fears to wail,
Clad all in colour of a nun, and covered with a veil.
Yet (for the day was calm and clear) I might discern her face,
As one might see a damask rose hid under crystal glass.
Three times with her soft hand full hard on her left side she knocks,
And sighed so sore as *might have made some pity in the rocks.*
From sighs and shedding amber tears into sweet song she brake,
When thus the Echo answer'd her to every word she spake.
Oh heavens, who was the first that bred in me this fever ?—
Vere.
Who was the first that gave the wound, whose fear I wear for ever ?—
Vere.
What tyrant, Cupid, to my harm, usurps thy golden quiver ?—
Vere.
What wight first caught this heart, and can from bondage it deliver ?—
Vere.

Yet who doth most adore this wight, oh *hollow caves* tell true ?—
You.
What nymph deserves his liking best yet doth in sorrow rue ?—
You.
What makes him not reward good will with some reward of rue ?—
You.
What makes him show besides his birth such pride and such untruth ?—
Youth.

May I his favour match with love if he my love will try ?—
Ay.
May I requite his birth with faith ? Then faithful will I die ?—
Ay.
And I that knew this lady well, said Lord, how great a miracle
To her how Echo told the truth as true as Phoebus oracle.

The following are the stanzas in *Venus and Adonis* with which we are asked to compare the above verses of Edward de Vere and to come to the conclusion that both verses and stanzas were written by the same person, that is by Edward de Vere :—

' *And now she beats her heart, whereat it groans,*
That all the *neighbour caves, as seeming troubled,*

Make verbal repetition of her moans ;
Passion on passion deeply is redoubled :
" Ay me ! " she cries, and twenty times " Woe, woe ! "
And twenty echoes twenty times cry so.

' She marking them begins a wailing note
And *sings extemporally a woeful ditty ;*
How love makes young men thrall and old men dote ;
How love is wise in folly, foolish-witty :
Her heavy anthem still concludes in woe
And still the choir of echoes answers so

' For who hath she to spend the night withal
But idle sounds resembling parasites,
Like shrill-tongued tapsters answering every call,
Soothing the humour of fantastic wits ?
She says " 'Tis so " : they answer all " 'Tis so,"
And would say after her, if she said " No." '

Now parallel passages may be of some value in determining authorship if they are very numerous, but if they only consist of one or two lines they are of little value. Moreover, it is somewhat difficult to see that the phrases printed in *italics* are parallels at all.

Every one must admit that Shakespeare made free use of the writings of others. Had it not been that in making use of these writings he frequently improved them he might almost be charged with plagiarism. As I state later in these Notes, Rawley said that ' Bacon clothed the thoughts of others in more beautiful garbs.' This I suggest is what Bacon did in the above extract from *Venus and Adonis*. He took De Vere's thoughts and clothed them in more beautiful garbs. De Vere's verses were in existence in 1593, and I think it must be admitted that the ideas and thoughts, although they may be much the same as De Vere's, are much better expressed in *Venus and Adonis* than they are in De Vere's Echo verses.

The following are Edward de Vere's verses on ' The Lark.'

' The lively lark stretched forth her wing
The messenger of morning bright ;
And with her cheerful voice did sing
The Day's approach discharging Night.
When that Aurora blushing red
Descried the guilt of Thetis' bed.'

The following is the stanza in *Venus and Adonis* which we are again asked to compare with De Vere's verses and to come to the conclusion that they were written by De Vere :—

> ' Lo, here the gentle lark, weary of rest,
> From his moist cabinet mounts up on high,
> And wakes the morning, from whose silver breast
> The sun ariseth in his majesty ;
> Who doth the world so gloriously behold
> That cedar-tops and hills seem burnish'd gold.'

The only thing I can see that is similar in De Vere's verses and the stanza is that they both treat of a lark. I can see nothing else.

3. History tells us that Edward de Vere was a good horseman, but it says nothing about his knowledge of horses. For all we know he may have had ' almost a veterinary's knowledge of their diseases and their treatment,' but there is as far as I know nothing to show it, and to say that he had this knowledge is an assumption. I can see a good deal of the ' animal instinct ' in that portion of *Venus and Adonis* that refers to the horse, but nothing that raises this ' mere animal instinct to the dignity of a complex and exalted human passion.'

I have pointed out that the description of the horse in the poem is taken from Du Bartas.

In 1593 Edward de Vere was forty-three years of age and Southampton was a youth of twenty. De Vere was the seventeenth Earl of Oxford. Southampton was only the second Earl of Southampton, so his position in the peerage was inferior to that of Edward de Vere. Bacon was a commoner. In 1597 he was only Mr. Francis Bacon. Bearing this in mind turn to the Dedication of *Venus and Adonis* to Southampton. The opening sentence is :—

> ' I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my unpolished lines to your lordship, nor how the world will censure me for choosing so strong a prop to support so weak a burden : only, if your honour seem but pleased, I account myself highly praised, and vow to take advantage of all idle hours, till I have honoured you with some graver labour.'

This is not the wording of a leading peer of forty-three years of age dedicating his work to a youth of twenty, who although also a peer was one inferior to him in rank, but it is the sort of wording one would expect to find if a commoner dedicated his work to a peer.

I have dealt rather fully with Mr. Looney's theory, for I regard my arguments that Bacon was the author of *Venus and Adonis* as among the most important parts of these Notes.

REASON 4

The evidence of contemporary writers points to Francis Bacon and not to Shaksper of Stratford as the person responsible for the plays. The signatures of Shaksper of Stratford show that he was not a person able to write with facility. Such a person could not have written the Shakespeare plays, which must have run into many thousands of manuscript pages.

It seems strange that there should be any mystery as to the authorship of the Shakespeare plays and poems at the present time, when it is so evident that many literary men contemporary with Francis Bacon knew what part he had taken in their production.

None of the writers of his time ' name ' Bacon during his lifetime, although they identify him clearly. The reason of this is that those who were friendly to him would refrain from naming him, being aware that for some reason best known to himself he did not wish his name to be made public ; and those who were unfriendly to him would not ' name ' him because they would be afraid to do so. Even in his younger days Bacon had influential relations and friends, and could have caused the Star Chamber or the Law to be put in operation against them. There was not much freedom of the press in the times of Elizabeth and James. It was this, I believe, that made men like Hall, Marston, and Ben Jonson take care not to mention his name or identify him too distinctly.

After Hall and Marston, the strongest witness in favour of Bacon is Ben Jonson. I will begin with his plays. I do not doubt that the general public thought that Shaksper of Stratford was the author of the plays that had been produced, and some of them published, under the name

of William Shakespeare ; but Jonson's plays show that he knew Shaksper of Stratford had had very little to do with them, that others, such as Thomas Dekker, had had a good deal to do with them, but that Bacon was mainly responsible for them.

The ' Poetomachia,' as it is sometimes called, commenced about 1599, and continued for some time. It was a fight between the supporters of the old classical style of play-writing and the newer romantic style of the Shakespeare plays which were catching on with the public. Needless to say, Jonson was on the side of the classical style.

Several plays were produced during this fight, and Jonson's *Poetaster* was one of them. In it he hits out right and left at his various opponents, and some parts of it are exceedingly vulgar.

It is generally admitted that in *The Poetaster* Horace is intended for Ben Jonson himself. I have no doubt that Ovid Junior is intended for Bacon, and Ovid Senior for Lord Burleigh or some other person *in loco parentis* to Bacon. Rufus Laberius Cri-spinas, I think, is intended for Shake-speare the author of the Shakespeare plays. Laberius was a writer of Mimes who was born about B.C. 107 ; ' crispo ' is a Latin verb meaning ' to brandish or wave,' and ' spina ' is ' a prickle or thorn,' that is something sharp. ' Wave-prickle writer of Mimes ' seems to be a parody on ' Shake-speare writer of Plays.' Rufus may be a side hit at Shaksper of Stratford, who is said to have been a red-haired man.

Jonson in the characters of his plays sometimes alludes to one man in one part of a play and to another man in another part. I think he did this partly for his own protection ; for if he were blamed for attacking any particular person, he could reply that his attack had been intended for somebody else.

I believe that in the character of Cri-spinas Jonson sometimes has a hit at Shaksper of Stratford, the supposed author of the Shakespeare plays, and sometimes at Thomas Dekker, who had taken so large a part in their composition.

Cri-spinas is held up to ridicule in much the same way

that the Poet-ape is held up to ridicule in Jonson's *Epigrams*. He is represented as a man who wishes to pose as a poet, but is really not a poet at all, and as one who wishes to make the acquaintance of poets. He is an actor, has no classical education, and possesses a coat of arms. In the feast scene, where the poets represent the various gods, Ovid Junior takes the part of Jupiter, that is he is put at the head of the poets, and Cri-spinas, who has been given no part, when it is asked what god he is to represent, is told that he is to be Mercury.

The above, I think, all point to Shaksper of Stratford, and if this is so, then Jonson makes Shaksper of Stratford the herald of Bacon, the man who represented him and brought out his works, for Mercury was the herald of Jupiter.

Cri-spinas is asked to sing some of his verses. One set which is supposed to be addressed to Chloe turns out to be addressed to ' his bright mistress Canidia,' and he explains it by saying, ' Ay, sir, that 's a borrowed name.' A few lines further on Tibullus says : ' Why the ditty's all borrowed ; 'tis Horace's : hang him, plagiary ! ' When asked by Caesar who he is, he replies : ' Your gentleman parcel-poet, sir ! '

The above, I think, are references to Dekker, who was a well-known dresser of plays.

In an exceedingly vulgar scene at the end of *The Poetaster* a pill is administered by Horace to Cri-spinas, which acts as an emetic, and Cri-spinas vomits up a number of long words, such as retrograde, reciprocal, glibbery, lubrical, magnificate, tergidous, ventosity, oblatrant, furibund, prorumpted, and obstupefact. In this objectionable scene I think Dekker is referred to, although Jonson possibly at the same time had a hit at Marston. Dekker frequently used long swelling words in his writings, such as anthropophagized, circumgitations, circumgyrations, encomiastic, niggardize, phantasticality, and repercussive.

Dekker paid Jonson back in his own coin with interest by writing his *Satiro-mastix*, and I think this provides an explanation of the much discussed remark in *The*

Return from Parnassus, a play acted at St. John's College, Cambridge, and printed in 1606 :—

> ' O, that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow ; he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge, that made him bewray his credit.'

It was Dekker and not Shaksper of Stratford who administered the purge to Jonson, and it should be noticed that Horace gave a pill not to ' a poet ' but to ' the poets,' thereby showing that the Cri-spinas of *The Poetaster* represented more than one man. It would almost appear that the author of *The Return from Parnassus* thought that Dekker was the author of the Shakespeare plays, but the mistake is easily explained by the fact that so much of Dekker's work appeared in these plays, and consequently whoever wrote *The Return from Parnassus* may have concluded that Dekker was the person who was writing under the pseudonym of Shakespeare. It is quite possible that others may have thought that Dekker was William Shakespeare, but I can find no evidence that any literary contemporary ever thought that Shaksper of Stratford was William Shakespeare.

I have stated that in Jonson's plays a character sometimes refers to one person and sometimes to another. In addition to this I believe that the same person is sometimes referred to in two different characters, and I think that in *The Poetaster* Shaksper of Stratford is referred to and ridiculed not only in the character of Cri-spinas but also in that of Luscus.

In Act 1. Scene i. Tucca says to Luscus :—

> ' Talk to tapsters and ostlers, you slave, they are in your element, go : here be the emperor's captains, you ragamuffin rascal, and not your comrades.'

This I take is a reference to Shaksper of Stratford as a frequenter of Taps who commenced his connection with the stage by becoming an ostler in Burbage's stables.

After Luscus has left the stage, Tucca continues :—

> ' They forget they are in the statute, the rascals ; they are blazoned there ; there they are tricked, they and their pedigrees ; they need no other heralds, I wiss.'

This I think is a clear reference to Shaksper of Stratford's desire to get a Grant of Arms from the Heralds' College. It should be noticed that in the play Luscus is represented as being in the service of Ovid Junior.

I now turn to what *The Poetaster* tells us about Bacon.

The play opens with Ovid Junior, whom I hereafter call Ovid, seated in his study reciting the last lines of a poem he has written :—

> 'Then when this body falls in funeral fire,
> My name shall live, and my best part aspire.'

I may remark in passing that this looks very like a side hit at Bacon. R. M. Theobald says [1] :—

> 'Bacon's confident assurance of holding a lasting place in literature is one of the most striking features of his character, and it marks him as specially endowed with poetic consciousness and temperament. In this respect Bacon and Shakespeare are absolutely alike, and the bold unhesitating assertion of this claim to immortality, which is common to the two, is almost unparalleled in literature.'

Then Luscus enters, and says :—

> 'Young master . . . away with your songs and sonnets, and on with your gown and cap quickly. . . . Your father will be a man of this room presently. . . . What a rascally untoward thing this poetry is. . . . Get a law book in your hand (*Ovid puts on his cap and gown*). . . . This villainous poetry will undo you. . . . Why, young Master, you are not Castalian mad, lunatic, frantic, desperate, ha!'

Then exit Luscus, and Ovid proceeds to recite his poem, which is a poetical translation of the part of Ovid's *Elegies* from which the prefix to *Venus and Adonis* is taken. As he finishes the verses, enter Ovid Senior, accompanied by Luscus, Tucca, and Lupus. Ovid Senior takes up the last line of Ovid's verse and says :—

> 'Your name shall live, indeed, sir! You say true: but how infamously, how scorn'd and contemn'd in the eyes and ears of the best and gravest Romans, that you think not on; you never so much as dream of that. Are these the fruits of all my travail and expenses? Is this the scope and aim of thy studies? Are these the hopeful courses, wherewith I have so long flattered my

[1] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

expectation from thee? Verses! Poetry! Ovid, whom I thought to see the pleader, become Ovid the play-maker. . . . I hear of a tragedy of yours coming forth for the common players, called *Medea*. . . . If I come to the acting of this, I 'll add one tragic part more than is expected to it. . . . What! shall I have my son a stager now? an enghel for players? a gull, a rook, a shot-clog, to make suppers, and be laughed at? . . . But this betrays what student you are, this argues your proficiency in the law!'

'OVID. They wrong me, sir, and do abuse you more,
That blow your ears with these untrue reports.
I am not known upon the open stage,
Nor do I traffic in their theatres:
Indeed, I do acknowledge, at request
Of some near friends, and honourable Romans,
I have begun a poem of that nature.

OVID SENIOR. You have, sir, a poem! And where is it? That 's the law you study.

OVID. Cornelius Gallus borrowed it to read.

OVID SENIOR. Cornelius Gallus! there 's another gallant too hath drunk of the same poison, and Tibullus and Propertius. But these are gentlemen of means and revenues now. Thou art a younger brother, and hast nothing but thy bare exhibition; which I protest shall be bare indeed, if you forsake not these unprofitable by-courses, and that timely too.'

The Poetaster appeared in 1601, and was published in 1602. Notice how Bacon is clearly identified.[1] He was a younger brother. He had been entered at Gray's Inn, but instead of giving all his time to the study of law he frequented theatres and wrote Masques for Gray's Inn and Devices for Essex, thereby neglecting his legal studies, as the members of his family thought and much to their dislike. His most intimate friends were 'gentlemen of means,' such as Essex, Pembroke, and Southampton, all of whom fit in well enough with Cornelius Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius. Cornelius Gallus was a man who had written poetry, who was sent to Egypt by Octavian in pursuit of Antony, who when Egypt became a Roman province was appointed Prefect, and who eventually incurred the enmity of Octavian. He would correspond to Essex. Albius Tibullus was a poet of equestrian rank

[1] I have been informed that the subject of Ovid Junior and Bacon was well worked out by the late G. W. Smithson in his book *Shakespeare-Bacon*, but I have not seen the book.

and would correspond to Pembroke. Propertius was a Roman who lost his father when he was young, who was destined for the law but gave it up, and who was notorious for his amours. He would correspond to Southampton.

Bacon, in the character of Ovid, is represented as neglecting his legal studies and giving his time to writing plays and poems. Moreover, he is represented as not writing under his own name. He says :—

> 'I am not known upon the open stage,
> Nor do I traffic in their theatres.'

It is evident that Jonson knew something about Bacon's pseudonym.

Again, I believe that the love scene between Ovid and Julia is a parody on the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet*, and that the treasonable play mentioned in *The Poetaster* is a reference to the play of *Richard II.* that took such a prominent part in the trial of Essex.

An injunction was issued against *The Poetaster*, and it looks as though this may have been at the instance of Bacon, for Jonson in his Fifty-fourth Epigram says :—

> 'Cheveril cries out my verses libels are ;
> And threatens the Star-Chamber and the Bar.'

Stubbs, in the *Anatomy of Abuses*, says :—

> 'The lawyers have such cheveril consciences.'

So it may be taken that the Cheveril who threatened 'the Star-Chamber and the Bar' was a lawyer and probably that that lawyer was Francis Bacon. That this was so Jonson's Thirty-seventh Epigram is evidence, although the evidence is of a cryptographic nature. It also is on Cheveril the Lawyer, and runs as follows :—

> 'NO CAuse nor chent fat, will Cheveril leese,
> But as they come on both sides he takes fees
> And pleaseth both ; for while he melts his grease
> FoR this ; that wins for whom he holds his peace.'

If we take the letters that I have had printed in capitals and read upwards, beginning at the bottom, we get FRA, BACON. It looks as though Jonson had noticed the FRA, B in the first two lines of *Lucrece* before mentioned,

and thought he would try his hand at the same sort of thing.

In the Apologetical Dialogue to *The Poetaster* written after the injunction was removed Polyposus says :—

> ' they say you tax'd
> The law and lawyers, captains and the players,
> By their particular names.'

And the author replies :—

> ' It is not so. I used no name.'

I have previously referred to the danger an author would be in if he ' named ' a person in an influential position, such as that of Bacon. Even as it was, Bacon seems to have been able to stop the continued production of *The Poetaster*, and to have threatened Jonson with the Star Chamber and legal proceedings. Jonson's defence is that he did not ' name ' anybody.

I now turn to *The Silent Woman*, which was first acted in 1609.

It is clear to my mind that in this play Sir John Daw is a satirical representation of Bacon.

In Act II. Sir John Daw has been running through a list of names, and Dauphine says to Epicæne :—

> ' 'Fore God you have a simple learned servant, lady,—in titles.
> CLERIMONT. I wonder that he is not called to the helm, and made a Counsellor.
> DAUPHINE. He is one extraordinary.
> CLERIMONT. Nay, but in ordinary : to say the truth, the state wants such.
> DAUPHINE. Why, that will follow.'

Bacon was made a Counsellor Extraordinary by Elizabeth in 1588.

Sir John Daw admits that he has been writing verses, and the following conversation takes place :—

> ' DAUPHINE. Why, would you not live by your verses, Sir John ?
> CLERIMONT. No, 'twere pity he should. A Knight live by his verses ! he did not make them to that end, I hope.
> DAUPHINE. And yet the noble Sidney lives by his, and the noble family not ashamed.
> CLERIMONT. Ay, he profest himself ; but Sir John Daw has more caution ; he 'll not hinder his own rising in the state so much.'

It is stated elsewhere in these Notes that one of the reasons why Bacon could not acknowledge the part he had taken in the Shakespeare plays and poems was because if he had done so he would have destroyed all his chances of rising in the state.

Sir John Daw then recites his verses, commencing :—

'Silence in woman is like speech in man.'

The idea is an enlargement of the remarks of Gratiano in *The Merchant of Venice*, Act I. Scene i. :—

'Silence is only commendable
In a neat's tongue dried, and a maid not vendible.'

The metre is the same as that of Bacon's verses, *The World's a Bubble*, which I mention later. I think Jonson parodies Bacon's poem.

Remarks are then made as to the meaning of the word 'increase' that occurs in Daw's verses, and Dauphine says :—

'Then this is a ballad of procreation.'

This possibly refers to the first series of the *Sonnets*, which had just been published by Thorpe. As they were published under the name of Shakespeare, Jonson may have thought that Bacon was the author of them.

It has often been pointed out that the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays drew largely from Seneca and Plutarch. In Act II. Scene ii. Jonson jeers at Sir John Daw for borrowing from Seneca and Plutarch.

In Act IV. Sir John Daw says :—

'As I hope to finish Tacitus, I intend no murder.'

When Dr. Tenison made a list of Bacon's papers in 1682 the list included 'Notes from the First Book of Tacitus, touching the Making or Breaking of Factions.' This work was never finished.

Francis Bacon is the only man who fills in the place of Sir John Daw, who is represented as a knight, a lawyer, a concealed poet, a rising statesman, and a Counsellor Extraordinary. The most important point to be noticed in *The Silent Woman* is that Jonson shows that Bacon had written poetry, but had kept the fact a secret lest it should hinder his rising in the state.

I now take the play of *Every Man out of his Humour*, which was first acted in 1599, the year in which Shaksper of Stratford obtained the Grant of Arms from the Heralds' College. By this time, according to Sir Sidney Lee, Shaksper of Stratford had made a fair amount of money. He had bought New Place in 1597.

In this play I think there can be no doubt that Puntarvolo is a skit on Bacon, and that Sogliardo is an unfriendly representation of Shaksper of Stratford.

Sogliardo is a man who has made money, and is most anxious to be regarded as a gentleman and to obtain a Grant of Arms, which eventually he does obtain.

In Act III. Scene i. the following conversation takes place :—

'SOGLIARDO. By this parchment ; gentlemen, I have been so toiled among the harrots [heralds] yonder, you will not believe ! they do speak in the strangest language, and give a man the hardest terms for his money, that ever you know.

CARLO. But have you arms, have you arms ?

SOGLIARDO. I' faith I thank them ; I can write myself gentleman now ; here 's my patent, it cost thirty pounds, by this breath.

PUNTARVOLO. A very fine coat, well charged, and full of armoury.

SOGLIARDO. Nay, it has a much variety of colours in it, as you have seen a coat have ; how like you the crest, sir ?

PUNTARVOLO. I understand it not well, what is 't ?

SOGLIARDO. Marry, sir, it is your boar without a head, rampant. A boar without a head, that 's very rare !

CARLO. Ay, and rampant too ! troth, I commend the herald's wit, he has decyphered him well, a swine without a head, without brain, wit, anything indeed, ramping to gentility.'

Having discussed the arms further, Sogliardo asks Puntarvolo :—

'How like you them, signior ? '

To which Puntarvolo replies :—

'Let the word [*i.e.* Let the motto] be, Not Without Mustard : your crest is very rare.'

Bacon's crest was a Boar, and the motto of Shaksper of Stratford was *Non sanz droict*, that is 'Not without right.'

Both Bacon and Shaksper of Stratford are clearly

identified, and the distinct inference to be drawn from the above extract is that Shaksper of Stratford was personating Bacon, but lacked one thing, namely the brains. He was Bacon without Bacon's head ; in other words, that he brought out the compositions that Bacon's brain had produced.

The scene in which Puntarvolo addresses his wife, who is standing at the window, is another parody of the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet*. Ovid in *The Poetaster* and Puntarvolo in *Every Man out of his Humour* play the part of the lovers in these parodies, and, as I am quite certain that both Ovid and Puntarvolo are intended to represent Bacon, I think that Ben Jonson in these two plays gives as strong hints as he was able to give on the stage that Bacon was responsible for *Romeo and Juliet*.

In Act II. Scene i. Carlo refers to Puntarvolo as a feuterer. Gifford in a note to his edition of Ben Jonson's works says that a feuterer is a dog-keeper. This is certainly one of the meanings of the word, but to feuter also means to make one's spear ready. In the *Romance of King Arthur* we have :—

> ' They fewtred their speares.'

And Spenser in *The Faerie Queen*, Bk. IV. c. iv., says :—

> ' His spear he feutred, and at him it bore ;
> But with no better fortune, then the rest afore.'

So it may be that Jonson refers to Puntarvolo, that is to Bacon, as one who had ' made his spear ready,' or as one who was ready to shake his spear.

Puntarvolo has a cat, and in one scene he enters followed by a servant who has the cat in a bag. The cat is kept in the bag and the servant is instructed to ' look to her.' Puntarvolo, that is Bacon, had no intention of letting the cat out of the bag, he meant to keep his secret.

Speaking of Sogliardo in Act IV. Scene viii. Carlo says:—

> ' He is a man of fair revenue, and his estate will bear the charge well. Besides, for his other gifts of the mind, or so, why they are as nature lent him them, pure, simple, without any artificial drug or mixture of these two threadbare beggarly qualities, learning and knowledge, and therefore the more accommodate and genuine.'

In Act v. Scene ii. Puntarvolo says of Sogliardo :—

'He doth so peerlessly imitate any manner of person for gesture, action, passion, or whatever——'

And Fastidious Brisk interrupts him and continues :—

'Ay, especially a rustic or a clown, madam, that it is not possible for the sharpest sighted wit in the world to discover any sparks of the gentleman in him, when he does it.'

Later on in the same scene Macilente, also speaking of Sogliardo, says :—

'He is a very perfect clown, both by father and mother.'

The above descriptions of Sogliardo do not make him out the sort of man who could have written the Shakespeare plays and poems. If Sogliardo is meant to represent Shaksper of Stratford, as I am quite sure he is, then Shaksper of Stratford was a very different kind of man to what the Shaksperians try to make him out to have been.

In Act iv. Scene vii. Fungoso says :—

'Let me never breath again upon this
Mortal stage, as the philosopher calls it.'

This may be a reference to the well-known speech of Jaques in *As You Like It*, Act ii. Scene vii., commencing:—

'All the world 's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.'

It may be thought that this suggestion is somewhat far-fetched, but there is something to support it. In regard to Fungoso's remark Cordatus says :—

'He was an iron-hearted fellow, in my judgment, that would not credit him upon this volley of oaths.'

The word 'oath,' or 'oaths,' is frequent in the Shakespeare plays, being used nearly 200 times, and in *The Merchant of Venice*, Act v. Scene i., we have :—

'Swear by your double self,
And there 's an oath of credit.'

It looks very much as though Jonson was pointing to the Shakespeare plays when he wrote the words put into the mouths of Fungoso and Cordatus.

Every Man out of his Humour was first printed in 1600, and according to Halliwell-Phillipps [1] *As You Like It* was produced in the same year. The question is, supposing that Jonson was referring to the speech of Jaques, who was the philosopher referred to. Was it Shaksper of Stratford, Jaques, or Bacon ? My own opinion is that Shaksper of Stratford, from what we know of his life, is quite out of the running, and that Bacon has a better claim to be referred to as a philosopher than the melancholy Jaques has.

In *Every Man in his Humour*, Act. I. Scene iii., the following dialogue takes place between Mathew and Cob. Cob is speaking of his ancestor.

> ' Cob. How know I ! why, I smell his ghost ever and anon.
> Mathew. Smell a ghost ! O unsavoury jest ! and the ghost of a herring cob ?
> Cob. Ay, sir : With favour of your worship's nose, Master Mathew, why not a ghost of a herring cob, as well as the ghost of Rasher Bacon ?
> Mathew. Roger Bacon, thou would'st say.
> Cob. I say Rasher Bacon.'

I think these remarks refer to the ghost scene in *Hamlet*. *Every Man in his Humour* was first printed in 1616, *Hamlet* appeared in 1602, if not before. The play of *Hamlet* was founded on an old French tale, but in this tale the ghost did not appear ; it was first introduced by the person responsible for the play, or the sketch, of *Hamlet*, whoever that person may have been. The introduction of the ghost on to the stage must have struck the theatre-goers of the time, and must have formed a prominent feature of the production, even more so than it does now.

Cob mentions the ghost of Rasher Bacon. Mathew tries to correct him, and suggests that he means the ghost of Roger Bacon ; but Cob keeps to his point and says he means the ghost of Rasher Bacon.

As will be pointed out in Part II. of these Notes, there are strange phrases in the First Folio, such as ' Gammon of Bacon,' ' Hang-hog is Latin for Bacon,' and so on,

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*,

dragged in, as the above extract is dragged in, for no apparent reason as far as the construction of the plays is concerned. I think that this mention of Rasher Bacon is not a mere gag, but that Jonson hints that the person responsible for *Hamlet* was Francis Bacon.

I quite see that it may be said: According to Gifford *Every Man in his Humour* appeared on the stage in 1596, so how could he refer to *Hamlet* which, according to your Table of Dates, did not appear till 1602? The answer to this is two-fold.

1. The play presented in 1596 was not necessarily the same in all particulars as the play as it was printed in 1616. The dialogue may have been added subsequently to 1602.

2. 1602 is the date given by Halliwell-Phillipps for the first production of *Hamlet*, but some critics have put it as early as 1595.

I now take the play of *The Case is Altered*, which, although not published till 1609, was written between 1598 and 1599.

In this play there can be no doubt that Valentine is intended for the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays, and I think it is equally clear that he also represents Francis Bacon.

At the end of Act 1. Scene i. Juniper says to Valentine :—

> 'What, no further yet! come on, you precious rascal, Sir Valentine, I 'll give you a health i' faith, for the heavens, you mad Capricio, hold hook and line.'

Walter Begley in *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio* says :—

> 'Now, "Capricio" is almost a test word for Bacon—it is used by Harvey, Marston, and other contemporaries to denote a phantastical and capricious intellect, as well as here, too, by Ben Jonson. None of them *name* Bacon—they dare not—but no one suits the several allusions so well. Take Jonson, for instance, in *The Poetaster* (Act III. Scene i.). He brings in Tucca, talking to Histrio, a player (viz. Alleyn, of the Fortune Theatre, as appears plainly by the allusions), about the players and poets of the time—
>
> 'There are some of your players honest gentleman-like scoundrels, and suspected to have some wit, *as well as your poets both at drinking and breaking of jests, and are companions for gallants*. . . . Do'st thou not know them?
>
> HISTRIO. No, I assure you, Captain,

> ' Tucca then recommends this Capricio as one of the poets who " pens high, lofty, in a new stalking strain," and that if Histrio secured his services, " if he pen for thee once," that then Histrio would soon be a rich man.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> ' No, Capricio stood for Bacon here (1601), just as mad Capricio stood for him in *The Case is Altered* (1599); but this harping on the same word in two nearly successive plays was, I suppose, too obvious, and so Ben Jonson in the next edition of *The Poetaster* altered Capricio to Patalabus, and got rid of the Baconian allusion, just as he got rid of the Baconian allusion " Knight " elsewhere in the second edition.'

Another remark of Juniper identifying Valentine with Bacon is in Act I. Scene i., where on meeting him he greets him with :—

> ' Ha, you mad hieroglyphic.'

And Valentine replies :—

> ' Hieroglyphic ! what meanest thou by that ? '

I have previously stated that the meaning of hieroglyphic given in the *New English Dictionary* is ' a figure, device, or sign, having some hidden meaning ; a secret or enigmatical symbol or emblem.' It is a strange term to apply to any one, and I think there can be no doubt that it is a reference to the F^{R}_{B} in the first edition of *Lucrece* before mentioned. I have also stated that Jonson had evidently seen Marston's *Scourge of Villanie* in which the F^{R}_{B} is referred to.

Close to where Juniper uses the phrase, ' Ha, you hieroglyphic,' the following words and phrases appear, namely, ' changeling,' ' ruminate,' ' fortuna de la guerra,' and ' allo coragio.' They are all unusual, and are all of them used in the Shakespeare plays, and some of them many times. For example, ' changeling ' is used eight times, and the ' little changeling boy ' is an important item in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

The last remark in Act I. Scene i. is one that I have previously mentioned :—

> ' Come on, you precious rascal, Sir Valentine, I 'll give you a health i' faith, for the heavens, you mad Capricio, hold hook and line.'

The phrase ' hold hook and line ' is strange and not very intelligible. But it appears in *Henry IV.*, Part II. Act II. Scene iv., where Pistol says :—

' Hold hook and line, say I. Down, down, dogs ! down faitors.'

Jonson had evidently noticed this unusual phrase in the Shakespeare play, and by coupling it with Capricio shows that he was well aware of the responsibility of Bacon for *Henry IV.*, Part II., which, according to Halliwell-Phillipps, had just appeared.

I have pointed out in the section of these Notes that treats of the Promus what Spedding calls Bacon's ' forms of morning and evening salutations,' and have shown that they appear in the Shakespeare plays. In Act IV. Scene i. two Pages parody the latest society phrases used by persons in the fashionable world on meeting each other. We find such terms as, ' Bon jour, monsieur,' ' Good morrow, good signior,' ' Dieu vous garde, monsieur,' ' Monsieur Onion, is not fort bien,' ' Vous voilà bien encoutré,' ' Comment se porte la santé,' and ' Pardonnez-moi.' There can, I think, be no doubt that Jonson is here parodying Bacon's *Formularies and Elegancies* that had appeared in the Shakespeare plays, and that Valentine is the character pointed at. Most of the terms used by the Pages, like Bacon's notes in the Promus, are in French.

Another point that should be noticed in this scene is the use by Pacue of the oath ' By gar.' The scene is a short one, but Pacue uses the oath four times.

This I take it is undoubtedly a reference to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, which according to Halliwell-Phillipps had just appeared. In this play the use of the oath by Dr. Caius is frequent. For example, in Act II. Scene iii. he uses it eleven times in sixteen remarks.

I claim to have shown, when considering the play of *Every Man out of his Humour*, that Puntarvolo is intended for Bacon. Now Puntarvolo is a great traveller. In the list of characters at the beginning of the play he is described as ' a vain-glorious knight, over-englishing his travels.' In the play it is stated that he had ' travelled

all countries,' and intended to go to Constantinople 'to bring thence a Turk's mustachio.' This latter is obviously a reference to Henry's remark to the French Princess in *Henry V.*, Act v. Scene ii. :—

> 'Shall not thou and I, between Saint Denis and Saint George, compound a boy, half French, half English, that shall go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard?'

Valentine also is a great traveller. He has seen 'all the strange countries in Christendom' and has seen Constantinople, Jerusalem, the Indies, the Goodwin Sands, the Tower of Babylon, and Venice.

Now, all these places are mentioned in the Shakespeare plays. Constantinople is mentioned once, Jerusalem ten times, the Goodwin Sands twice, Babylon twice, the Indies five times, and Venice about forty times. Jonson did not mean that the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays had been to all these places personally, what he meant was that he had visited them in his writings. He did not approve of plays where places all over the world were brought in and periods of twenty or thirty years jumped over in one play, and he chaffed the person responsible for them about it. Walter Begley says [1] :—

> 'It might be supposed that Jonson was satirizing their author as one who had made his *characters* travel here, there, and everywhere within the limits of a few acts. This was quite contrary to the classical traditions and what is known as "the unities" of the drama; and Jonson, who was an orthodox dramatist, was strongly against the new romantic drama and its habit of constantly breaking the principles of what Jonson considered to be true art.'

In the Introduction to *Every Man out of his Humour*, after Cordatus, Asper, and Mitis have been considering the 'unities' of the legitimate drama, Mitis asks :—

> 'How comes it then, that in some one play we see so many seas, countries, and kingdoms passed over with such admirable dexterity?'

And Cordatus answers :—

> 'O, that but shows how well the authors can travel in their vocation, and outrun the apprehension of their auditory.'

I think it is quite clear that in the play of *The Case is*

[1] *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*,

Altered Valentine represents both Bacon and the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays.

I now mention some other writings of Ben Jonson that refer to Bacon and Shaksper of Stratford.

In his *Discoveries*, which were published in 1641 and which are believed by Gifford to have been written subsequently to 1630, he gives the names of writers whom he considered were the greatest of his time. The list is as follows :—

Sir Thomas Moore, Sir Thomas Wiat, Henry Earl of Surrey, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Eliot, Bishop Gardner, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Philip Sidney, Master Richard Hooker, Robert Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Henry Savile, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Thomas Egerton, and Sir Francis Bacon.

The name of Shaksper of Stratford (neither as such nor as William Shakespeare or William Shake-speare) is not mentioned at all.

This is a particularly strong piece of evidence ; for Jonson towards the end of his life had the highest possible opinion of the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays, and if he had believed that Shaksper of Stratford was that person he would certainly have mentioned him in his list.

It has been contended by the Shaksperians that Shaksper of Stratford was not included because the list is only a list of prose writers. But this is not correct ; for Sir Philip Sidney wrote *Astrophel and Stella* and a number of sonnets, and Bacon it is admitted wrote Masques for Gray's Inn, and *The World's a Bubble*.

Of the first fifteen names in the above list Jonson says nothing, he merely mentions the names without any comment ; but when he comes to Sir Francis Bacon he says a great deal, his remarks extending through three sections of the *Discoveries*. He says of him, *inter alia*, that he was one 'who hath filled up all numbers, and performed that in our tongue, which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece, or haughty Rome.'

What does he mean by saying that Bacon had 'filled up all numbers' ?

A reference to Richardson's *Dictionary* shows that the meaning of ' numbers ' is versification and poetry.

Again, turn to the First Folio and see what Jonson says about the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays. He says :—

> ' Leave thee alone, for the comparison
> Of all, that insolent Greece, or haughty Rome
> Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.'

That is, he uses almost identically the same words in the *Discoveries* with regard to Bacon that he had used in the First Folio in 1623 with regard to the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays. It is not reasonable to think that he would have given the same praise in the same words to two different men. It is more in accordance with common sense to conclude that the two remarks refer to one person.

Commenting on this point, W. F. C. Wigston in *Bacon, Shakespeare and the Rosicrucians* says :—

> ' Ben Jonson would never have applied the same comparison to Bacon that he does to Shakespeare—the exact words—unless he knew the truth. There is nothing in Bacon's prose works whatever to warrant any comparison of the sort. That Ben Jonson is alluding to poetry is plain ; " filled up all numbers " is to have written every style of verse, exhausted poetry. And even if we allow that some of Bacon's prose works could find favourable comparison with Latin compositions of like character, how are we to account for the Greek parallel ? No ! The truth is plain. Ben Jonson is alluding to the plays, and he is perfectly conscious who the real author is. He therefore applies to the real author (Sir Francis Bacon) the same comparison and words he employs for the false author. In each case we see he is thinking of plays that have surpassed the Greek and Latin masterpieces.'

But it is not certain that Jonson's words mean exactly what W. F. C. Wigston says they do. ' Filled up all numbers ' may mean that Bacon had written all kinds of writing. This would include poetry, but would not necessarily mean that Bacon had ' written every style of verse ' or ' exhausted poetry.'

I can quite see the anti-Baconian argument that ' numbers ' does not necessarily include poetry or versi-

fication, and therefore Jonson's statement about Bacon having ' filled up all numbers ' does not prove that Bacon had written poetry. If Jonson's statement stood alone there might be a good deal in this argument ; but, as I have shown earlier in this section, Jonson's plays make it clear that he was aware Bacon had written poetry, and I shall show later on that other contemporary writers regarded Bacon as a poet.

There is another point. All Bacon's more important works, with the exception of *Sylva Sylvarum*, *The Advancement of Learning*, and the *Essays*, had been published in Latin, and none of them had been translated into English during Jonson's lifetime. Jonson refers to what Bacon had written ' in our tongue.' Now, fine as these English writings may be, Jonson could hardly have considered them comparable or preferable to what had been written by ' insolent Greece ' or ' haughty Rome.' I suggest that this, added to the fact that he used the same words of praise to both Bacon and Shakespeare, shows that he had the Shakespeare plays in his mind when he wrote the section ' Scriptorum Catalogus ' in the *Discoveries*.

In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon says :—

> ' To me it seemeth best to keep the way with Antiquity *usque ad aras*.'

W. F. C. Wigston remarks on this :—

> ' Bacon declares he is going " the same road as the ancients." This is a piece of evidence that it is impossible to explain or get over, for it cannot be his method of Philosophy. His method is induction, and he disclaimed Aristotle. What is it then ? Does he join hands with the ancients upon their Mysteries, around their altars, with Heraclitus, Empedocles, the creative doctrines of Orpheus, and with the Platonic Philosophy ? This, we believe, is the true solution to the question. It is in the plays that we find these subjects over and over again more than exhaustively treated. It is the origin of the Drama, which is his prototype, and which he even goes beyond, as Ben Jonson well knew when he declared that he had done and gone beyond " all that Insolent Greece or Haughty Rome had performed ! " We find Bacon too instituting a comparison between himself, as a rival to the ancients in what they had done.'

He then gives the following extract from Bacon :—

> ' Upon these premises two things occur to me, of which, that they may not be overlooked, I would have men reminded. First, it falls out fortunately, as I think, for the allaying of contradictions and heart-burnings, that the honour and reverence due to the ancients remains untouched and undiminished ; while I may carry out my designs, and at the same time reap the fruit of my modesty. For if I should profess that I, going the same road as the ancients, have something better to produce, there must needs have been some comparison or rivalry between us (not to be avoided by any art of words) in respect of excellency or ability of wit ; and though in this there would be nothing unlawful or new (for if there be anything misapprehended by them, or falsely laid down, why may not I, using a liberty common to all, take exception to it ?).'

W. F. C. Wigston has the following foot-note on the phrase ' the fruit of my modesty ' :—

> ' Will some of the clever sceptics explain to us wherein this modesty of Bacon's consisted, unless in his silence as to the plays ? '

He then continues :—

> ' Now nobody can for a moment assert that the method commonly known as the Inductive, or the Baconian, has any rivalry, or is on any parallel lines with anything done by Antiquity. Bacon's is only a method after all, an instrument, and a system, which, though having foreshadowed all our modern discoveries and science, has nothing to place it in any category of comparison with Antiquity. Where, then, is this rivalry or road that he is going ? Let us ask ourselves wherein rivalry could exist, so as to make these words real and comprehensible ? We reply that Antiquity has one pre-eminent literary landmark or monument, wherein it stands discoverer, inventor, and beyond which nobody (except one) seems hitherto to have gone. We allude to the Drama, its origin and its source ; the Mysteries, Greece, Æschylus, Euripides, Sophocles, whose motto might have been *ne plus ultra* ! The only plays that can be placed in the same line are those known as Shakespeare's.'

It is quite clear from the *Discoveries* that Jonson had the very highest opinion of Francis Bacon both as an author and a man. The extracts already given from his plays show what Jonson thought of Shaksper of Stratford.

I will now give some extracts from his other writings.

Chambers is certain, and Gifford seems to agree, that the Fifty-sixth Epigram refers to Shaksper of Stratford. Both wrote many years before the Baconian theory was started.

Jonson's Fifty-sixth Epigram is as follows :—

ON POET-APE

Poor Poet-ape, that would be thought our chief,
Whose works are e'en the frippery of wit ;
From brokerage is become so bold a thief,
As we, the robb'd, leave rage, and pity it.
At first he made low shifts, would pick and glean,
Buy the reversion of old plays ; now grown
To a little wealth, and credit in the scene,
He takes up all, makes each man's wit his own :
And told of this, he slights it. Tut, such crimes
The sluggish gaping auditor devours ;
He marks not whose 'twas first : and after-times
May judge it to be his, as well as ours.
Fool ! as if half eyes will not know a fleece
From locks of wool, or shreds from the whole piece.

This epigram, though not published till 1616, is supposed to have been written somewhere about 1598, when the Shakespeare plays began to appear under the name of Shakespeare. It quite agrees with the view that the Shakespeare plays were revisions of older plays. Jonson says that the person responsible for them bought the reversion of old plays, picked and gleaned from the writings of others, and appropriated other men's wits.

The Shakespeare plays were getting very popular, and Jonson recognised in them a good deal of writing taken from older plays. He knew that Shaksper of Stratford, the supposed author, the man who ' would be thought our chief,' was incapable of writing them. He was annoyed because the Shakespeare plays were more popular than the old classical style of play. He was also annoyed that a man like Shaksper of Stratford should get the credit of being the author. He knew he was not the author, and he showed him up. The ' fleece ' was the work of such men as Drayton and Dekker, the ' locks of wool ' and the ' shreds ' were the additions made by Bacon, and the ' tags ' added by Shaksper of Stratford to make the plays more acceptable to the playgoers of the times.

I think that in the above epigram, although it mainly refers to Shaksper of Stratford, Jonson also had a hit at

Bacon and, as it were, uses Shaksper of Stratford as Bacon's ' whipping boy.' At the time the epigram was written and at the time it was published, and even up to the time of his interview with Drummond, he does not appear to have realised the grandeur of Bacon's work. He calls his writing the ' frippery of wit.' Among the meanings given to the word ' frippery ' in the *New English Dictionary* is : ' Empty display, *esp.* in speech or literary composition, showy talk ; ostentation.'

By the term ' tags ' added by Shaksper of Stratford, used in these Notes, I do not mean merely a few words put in here and there, such as would be called ' gags ' at the present time. I mean more than this. There are many passages in the plays that I feel sure were never written by Bacon. Some of these may be remnants of Dekker's writing, and some of them may be what I have called the ' tags ' of Shaksper of Stratford. I think it probable that Bacon in his revision considered it advisable to leave in some of these passages in order to catch the ears of the lower orders of his audience. But as the revision went on he gradually refined them.

Hepworth Dixon in *Royal Windsor* shows how oaths that appear in the Quartos are omitted in the First Folio, and how vulgar and spiteful expressions in the Quartos are toned down in the First Folio. He attributes this to the refinement of Shaksper of Stratford's mind that took place in the course of time. He puts it in this way :—

> ' For ten or twelve years, this burthen of irreverence weighed on his genius, till by growth of mind, he freed himself from his bad traditions, and became, in thought and phrase alike, the purest writer of his age.'

I think it more reasonable to put the result down to Bacon's revision rather than to any change in the mind of Shaksper of Stratford.

Walter Begley in *Is it Shakespeare?*, speaking of the search for recusants in Warwickshire, says :—

> ' There is a long list of recusants and others who did not come to the parish Church for divers reasons, and John Shakespeare, the father of William Shakespeare [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford] is

one of them. Strange to say, there are seven of the characters of the Plays among these Warwickshire recusants, viz. Page, Fluellen, Gower, Bates, Court, Bardolph, and Bolt.'

Now I do not consider it reasonable to think that Bacon, or Dekker, should by chance have hit on seven names that were the same as those of seven Warwickshire men who were associated with Shaksper of Stratford's father. I cannot help thinking that Shaksper of Stratford had something to do with the introduction of these names into the plays. What that 'something' was I cannot suggest, but I think it possible that Shaksper of Stratford had more to do with some of the portions of the plays than the average Baconian admits.

I should state that some critics consider that the person referred to in this epigram is Thomas Dekker. I do not think this can be upheld. The Poet-ape is stated to have 'grown to a little wealth.' Poor Dekker never had any wealth at all; he lived a sort of hand-to-mouth existence. He sold his plays out and out to Henslowe for paltry sums, and received small payments for dressing the plays of other persons. The epigram refers to a would-be poet who was an actor. It does not fit in with Dekker, but it fits in with Shaksper of Stratford, who for a person of his position may almost be called a rich man.

In his Fifty-eighth Epigram, which Gifford apparently agreed applied to Shaksper of Stratford, Jonson says :—

TO GROOM IDIOT

IDIOT, last night, I pray'd thee but forbear
To read my verses; now I must to hear:
For offering with thy smiles my wit to grace,
Thy ignorance still laughs in the wrong place.
And so my sharpness thou no less disjoints,
Than thou didst late my sense, losing my points.
So have I seen at Christmas-sports, one lost,
And hood-wink'd, for a man embrace a post.

If this epigram applies to Shaksper of Stratford it would seem that at some time or other he had acted badly in one of Jonson's plays or masques, not only when he was speaking but when he was a listener to the speeches of other actors. Anyhow, it does not make him out the

kind of man who could have written the Shakespeare plays. Is the title 'To Groom Idiot' a hint at the actor who got into the theatre through the stable door? I express no opinion, I only ask the question.

Under the heading, as given in Gifford's edition of Jonson's works, of 'De Shakspeare nostrat' we have :—

> 'I loved the man, and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any. He was (indeed) honest, and of an open and free nature, had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped. . . . His wit was in his own power, would the rule of it had been so too.'

Under the heading of 'Dominus Verulamius' he says:—

> 'His language (when he could spare or pass by a jest) was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, in what he uttered. No member of his speech, but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough, or look aside from him, without loss. He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was, lest he should make an end.'

In the next section he says :—

> 'Cicero is said to be the only wit that the people of Rome had equalled to their Empire, *Ingenium par imperio*. We have had many.'

Then follows the list that I have given previously of these wits, ending with Francis Bacon, who, Jonson says, was the greatest of all. The section finishes :—

> 'In short, within his view, and about his times, were all the wits born, that could honour a language, or help study. Now things daily fall, wits grow downward, and eloquence grows backwards: so that he may be named, and stand as the mark and ἀκμή of our language.'

In the next section he says :—

> 'My conceipt of his person was never increased toward him by his place, or honours: but I have and do reverence him, for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his work, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever prayed, that god would give him strength, for greatness he could not want.'

There can be no doubt whatever as to what Ben Jonson, in the latter part of his life, thought of Francis Bacon,

but there must be considerable doubt, at first sight, as to what he thought of Shaksper of Stratford.

There can be no doubt as to what he thought of Shaksper of Stratford in 1599 when he wrote *Every Man out of his Humour*, or of what he thought of him when he wrote the Fifty-sixth and the Fifty-eighth Epigrams, and if he had changed his mind he would not have published the play and the epigrams in their existing form in 1616, the year of Shaksper of Stratford's death. How is it, then, that he changed his mind after 1616 and used such words of praise in the *Discoveries* which were published in 1641, and nearly all of which were written after 1630 ?

My answer is that he did not change his mind. He changed his mind with regard to Bacon, but there is nothing to show that he ever changed his mind with regard to Shaksper of Stratford.

It seems to me incredible that the man he had held up to ridicule in the character of Sogliardo and as a ' Poet-ape that would be thought our chief ' was the same man that he loved and whose memory he honoured ' on this side idolatry.'

I feel certain that Jonson knew Bacon was the person mainly responsible for the Shakespeare plays, and, as I have said before, he was annoyed because Shaksper of Stratford was getting the credit of having written them. At first he was jealous of Bacon, and in his own plays made various satirical references to the Shakespeare plays and to Bacon ; but as time went on and he became intimate with Bacon he got to love and reverence him, and eventually he is found helping to hoodwink the public in the First Folio.

Jonson's remarks under the heading ' Dominus Verulamius ' refer to Bacon personally. I hold that the remarks under the heading ' De Shakspeare nostrat ' refer to the person responsible for the plays and not to Shaksper of Stratford personally, although some apparently personal references are thrown in with the object of misleading the reader. I regard Jonson's remarks as confirmatory of the verses he wrote in the First Folio. Like the verses, they have just enough

reference to Shaksper of Stratford to mystify and mislead. If my view is correct, then Jonson is consistent; if it is wrong, he is inconsistent.

Notice should be taken of the way in which the name 'Shakspeare' is spelt. The first part (Shak) is spelt in the same way as the Stratford man spelt his name, the last part (speare) as the name of the supposed author is spelt in the Dedications of the poems and in the majority of the plays. There may be nothing in this, but it causes one to think. Was Jonson mixing up the two names in order to mystify? It seems possible; but it is only fair to state that it is not certain that the headings in the *Discoveries* were written by Jonson himself. They may have been added later.

I have already pointed out that in 'Scriptorum Catalogus' of the *Discoveries* Jonson uses almost the same words of praise with regard to Bacon that he has used in the First Folio with regard to the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays. If the remarks under the heading 'De Shakspeare nostrat' are compared with those under the heading 'Dominus Verulamius' and the following two sections, it will be found that they are somewhat similar. One man has an excellent phantasy, the other could not spare or pass by a jest. One man's wit was in his own power, the other man's wit was the greatest of his time. One has a facile flow of expression, the other has an easy flow of language. One man is loved 'on this side idolatry,' the other is reverenced 'for the greatness that was only proper to himself.' Surely Jonson's remarks refer to one and the same man.

At the end of the section 'De Shakspeare nostrat,' Jonson says :—

> 'He redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.'

So little is known about the life of Shaksper of Stratford that one cannot say whether these remarks are applicable to him or not; but they are certainly applicable to Bacon.

The *Polimanteia*, which is a work with a very long title, was published in 1595. It was dedicated to the Earl of

Essex and written by somebody who signified his name by the initials W. C. The author is generally supposed to have been William Clark, or William Clerke, though some consider he was William Camden. Sir George Greenwood in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* comments on this work, and the following are some of his remarks :—

> 'In the Universities and the Inns of Court (see page numbered R.2. and following) the author is alluding to writers of the University school, such as Spenser and Daniell, and he has this marginal note to the passage : "All praiseworthy Lucrece, sweet Shake-speare. Eloquent Gaveston, Wanton Adonis, Watson's heyre."'

After referring to 'Watson's heyre,' he continues :—

> 'Whatever may be the meaning of the expression, it is clear that "W. C." couples Shakespeare with Marlow and Watson, both University men, and conceives of him as being himself a member of one of the Universities, and, presumably, of one of the Inns of Court also. This is not a little significant, especially when we remember that the book was published in 1595, only a few months after the Lucrece of "Sweet Shake-speare."'

Bearing somewhat on the point of the person responsible for the plays being a university man is the following line in *Titus Andronicus*, Act v. Scene ii. :—

> 'Knock at his study, where, they say, he keeps.'

Every member of Trinity College, Cambridge, knows that no man at college 'lives' in rooms ; every man 'keeps' in rooms. Bacon was a Trinity man. Nobody, as far as I know, has ever suggested that Shaksper of Stratford was a member of any university or a member of any Inner Court.

Halliwell-Phillipps [1] gives eighteen examples of what he calls 'allusions to the great dramatist by name which have been discovered in the printed literature of his own time,' including the *Polimanteia* just mentioned. I feel certain that everybody who reads these examples with an unbiased mind will come to the conclusion that these allusions, with one exception, are not to Shaksper of Stratford as an individual, but to Shakespeare the person responsible for the plays and the poems. The one

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

exception is the epigram of John Davies of Hereford, which is as follows :—

TO OUR ENGLISH TERANCE, Mr. WILL. SHAKE-SPEARE

SOME say, good Will, which I, in sport, do sing,
Hadst thou not plaid some kingly parts in sport,
Thou hadst been a companion for a king,
And beene a King among the meaner sort.
Some others raile ; but, raile as they thinke fit,
Thou hast no railing, but a raigning wit ;
And honesty thou Sow'st, which they do reape
So to increase their stock which they do keep.

That this refers personally to Shaksper of Stratford, the actor, is clear. It agrees with my view that his business was to procure plays for his company, and shows that he did his work well. I think that the fact that Shaksper of Stratford was a purveyor of plays for his company may explain why the plays of *Sir John Oldcastle*, *The London Prodigall*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, *Locrine*, *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, and *The Puritan Widow* were attributed to him ; for he may have procured these plays as well as the now-recognised Shakespeare plays. But the epigram of Davies of Hereford does not show that Shaksper of Stratford was the author of the Shakespeare plays. It refers to him as an actor, but it says nothing about him as an author ; in fact, it is evidence that he was not the author. The epigram is headed, ' To our English Terance, Mr. Will. Shakespeare.' The Terance of ancient times was not believed to be the author of the plays that were produced under his name ; these plays were supposed to have been written by Scipio and Lœlius. By likening Mr. Will Shake-speare to Terance Davies of Hereford shows that Mr. Will. Shake-speare was not the real author of the Shakespeare plays.

I will add one other reference to Shakespeare that is not, I think, mentioned by Halliwell-Phillipps.

The anonymous writer of *Wit's Recreations* says in 1640, in an epigram ' To Mr. William Shake-speare ' :—

' Shake-speare, we must be silent in our praise,
'Cause our encomiums will but blast thy bays
Which envy could not.'

Why the writer's 'encomiums' should blast Shakespeare's bays I do not venture to suggest; but whatever the cause may have been, the fact is clear that for some reason or other it was necessary to be silent about Mr. William Shake-speare.

Walter Begley, in *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*, gives some verses of John Davies of Hereford which, I think, there can be no doubt refer to Shaksper of Stratford. They are :—

> 'And some I love for painting, poesie,
> And say fell Fortune cannot be excused
> That hath for better uses you refused :
> Wit, courage, good shape, good parts and all good,
> As long as all these goods are no worse used,
> And though the stage doth stain pure gentle blood,
> Yet generous ye are in minde and moode.'

In the margin are the initials W. S. followed by the initials R. B., which no doubt stand for Shaksper of Stratford and Richard Burbage.

Shaksperians say that Davies praised Burbage for his 'painting' and Shaksper of Stratford for his 'poesie.' I do not think this can be upheld for a moment.

First of all, the initials cannot reasonably be held to relate to the first line only, which is but one-seventh of the whole sentence: they must be taken as relating to the whole of the verses. But even if they are taken as referring to the first line only, they must be taken in their proper order. That is, W. S. must be taken as referring to 'painting' and R. B. to 'poesie.' In other words, Davies praises Shaksper of Stratford as a painter and Burbage as a poet; which is an absurdity. If they are taken in the wrong order, as the Shaksperians take them, the result is little better; for it means that Davies praised Burbage as a painter. Burbage probably did attempt a little painting, and I believe there is 'a man's head' in the Dulwich Gallery that is claimed to have been painted by him. But Davies would never have praised him as a painter, he would have praised him as a great actor; and this is what he did in these verses.

Walter Begley suggests that the difficulty is caused by

the comma between ' painting ' and ' poesie ' put in by mistake by the printer, and that what Davies means is that he loves W. S. and R. B. for ' painting poesie '; that is, ' for their personal delineation on the stage of the fine " poesie " that fell to their parts as actors.'

I do not think any such explanation is necessary. To my mind Davies's meaning is quite clear. The whole passage refers to actors and the stage, and he means that he loves, that is he admires, some persons for their painting and others for their poetry ; but Fortune had not allowed W. S. or R. B. to employ their abilities in anything better than that of acting. He blames Fortune for not having allowed them a better use of their abilities ; for they had wit, courage, good shape, and good parts, and were generous in mind and mood, but the stage gave them no social position.

These verses of John Davies of Hereford no doubt refer to Shaksper of Stratford, but they refer to him as an actor only, in the same way as his epigram previously mentioned refers to him as an actor and a purveyor of plays for his company of actors.

Neither Alleyne nor Henslowe mention Shaksper of Stratford. To them others may be added. For example, Thomas Lodge, whose *Wit's Miseries and the World's Madness* was published in 1596, does not mention him among the ' divine wits.' In Edward Guilpin's *Skialethia*, the names of Chaucer, Gower, Daniell, Markham, Drayton, and Sidney are mentioned, but the name of Shaksper of Stratford is ignored. Dr. Peter Heylin, of Magdalen College, Oxford, published a *Description of the World* in 1621, but his list of famous English dramatic poets does not include the name of Shaksper of Stratford.

If Shaksper of Stratford was only an actor it is not surprising that Alleyne should not have mentioned him, but if he was the great dramatist who wrote the immortal plays his silence is extraordinary. Alleyne left papers and memoirs that contain the names of the notable play-poets of his time, but Shaksper of Stratford is not among them.

In the case of Henslowe this silence is still more extra-

ordinary. Henslowe was the proprietor of the Rose Theatre, at which, according to the Shaksperians, so many of the Shakespeare plays were produced ; in fact, according to Halliwell-Phillipps,[1] up to a certain period all the dramas of Shaksper of Stratford had been written for Henslowe.

Henslowe kept a diary which extended from 1591 to 1609. This diary is still in existence. It contains valuable information as to theatrical affairs during this period. It mentions Ben Jonson, Dekker, Chettle, Marston, Wilson, Drayton, Monday, Heywood, Middleton, Porter, Hathaway, Rankins, Webster, Day, Rowley, Haughton, and others, but it makes no reference whatever to Shaksper of Stratford.

What inference is to be drawn from the silence of Alleyne, Henslowe, Lodge, Guilpin, and Heylin ? What inference is to be drawn from the silence of Shaksper of Stratford himself ? There is not the slightest scrap of evidence to show that he ever claimed the plays or the poems as his own.

A petition presented to the Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's household in 1635 is given in full in Halliwell-Phillipps' *Outlines*. I give here a few extracts :—

> ' We your humble suppliants, Cutbert Burbage and Winifrid his brother's wife, and William his son, do tender to your honourable consideration for what respects and good reasons we ought not in good charity to be disabled in our livelihoods by men so soon shot up, since it hath been the custom that they should come to it by far more antiquity and desert than these can justly attribute to themselves. . . . The father of us, Cutbert and Richard Burbage, was the first builder of playhouses, and was himself in his younger years a player. The Theatre he built with many hundred pounds taken up at interest. . . . He built this house upon leased ground, by which means the landlord and he had a great suit in law, and, by his death, the like troubles fell on us, his sons ; we then bethought us of altering from thence, and at like expense built the Globe, with more sums of money taken up at interest, which lay heavy on us many years ; and to ourselves we joined those deserving men, Shakspere, Hemings, Condell, Philips, and others, partners in the profits of that they call the House. . . . Now for the Blackfriers, that is our inheritance ; our father purchased it at extreme rates,

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

and made it into a playhouse with great charge and trouble; which after was leased out to one Evans that first set up the boys commonly called the Queenes Majesties Children of the Chappel. In process of time, the boys growing up to be men, which were Underwood, Field, Ostler, and were taken to strengthen the King's service; and the more to strengthen the service, the boys daily wearing out, it was considered that house would be as fit for ourselves, and so purchased the lease remaining from Evans with our money, and placed men players, which were Hemings, Condell, Shakspeare,' etc.

This is one of the very few instances of any contemporary reference to Shaksper of Stratford as an individual. The Burbages must have known him well, and they refer to him as a 'deserving man' and a 'man player.' They rank him in the same category as Hemings (spelt Heminge in the First Folio), Condell, and Philips; all of whom are known to have been merely actors. The petitioners were the proprietors of the theatre where the Shakespeare plays had been acted. If Shaksper of Stratford had been the author of these plays they would have known it, and they would have been certain to mention the fact, as it would have helped them in their petition. But they did not mention it, and that is, I think, certain proof that they knew Shaksper of Stratford was not the author. This proof becomes still stronger when it is remembered that the Lord Chamberlain was the Earl of Pembroke, the survivor of the 'Incomparable Paire of Brethren' to whom the First Folio edition of the Shakespeare plays had been dedicated. If Shaksper of Stratford had been the author, the petitioners, in addressing Pembroke, would never have referred to him merely as a 'deserving man' and a 'man player,' they would have mentioned him as the author of the plays that twelve years previously had been dedicated to the person they were petitioning.

Robert Greene, the well-known writer of plays, died on the 3rd of September 1592, and just before his death wrote his *Groatsworth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance*. This production was not published at the time of Greene's death, but it was edited by Henry Chettle and entered at Stationers' Hall on the 20th of September 1592. The *Groatsworth of Wit* contains a

letter in which Greene warns three unnamed play-writers against actors. The first unnamed play-writer he addresses as a ' famous gracer of tragedians ' who had said ' There is no God,' the second as ' young Juuenall, that byting satyrist, that lastly with me together writ a comedie,' and the third as one ' no lesse deserving than the other two, in some things rarer, in nothing inferiour.' These three persons have been generally taken to be Marlowe, Lodge, and Peele, but Sir Sidney Lee thinks they were Marlowe, Nashe, and Peele. Speaking of actors, Greene says :—

> ' Base minded men al three of you, if by my miserie ye be not warned ; for unto none of you (like me) sought those burres to cleave ; those puppits (I meane) that speake from our mouths, those anticks garnisht in our colours. Is it not strange that I, to whom they al have been beholding, is it not like that you to whome they all have beene beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at once of them forsaken. Yes, trust them not ; for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tygres heart wrapt in a Players hyde*, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you ; and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in the countrey. O that I might intreate your rare wits to be imployed in more profitable courses ; and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions.'

Two of the persons addressed took offence at Greene's remarks, and their complaints were noticed by Chettle in a statement prefixed to his *Kind-Harts Dreame*, which was entered at Stationers' Hall on the 8th of December 1592. In this statement he says :—

> ' About three months since died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in sundry booke sellers hands, among others his *Groatsworth of Wit*, in which a letter, written to divers play-makers, is offensively by one or two of them taken ; and because on the dead they cannot be avenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a living author ; and after tossing it to and fro, no remedy but it must light on me. How I have all the time of my conversing in printing hindred the bitter inveying against schollers, it hath been very well knowne ; and how in that I dealt, I can sufficiently proove. With neither of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them I care not if I never be. The other, whome at that time I did not so much spare as since I wish I had, for that, as I have moderated the heate of living writers, and might have

usde my owne discretion (especially in such a case) the author beeing dead, that I did not I am as sory as if the original fault had beene my fault, because my selfe have seene his demeanor no lesse civill, than he excelent in the qualitie he professes : Besides, divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing, that aprooves his art.'

Out of the above material the Shaksperians have attempted to make the following :—

The ' onely Shake-scene ' is a reference to Shaksper of Stratford, and Marlowe and Shaksper of Stratford were the two play-writers who took offence, Marlowe being the one that Chettle did not care to be acquainted with, and Shaksper of Stratford the one who was excellent in the quality he professed. When quoting the extract from Chettle referring to the two men, John Payne Collier gives it as follows :—

' With neither of them, that take offence, was I acquainted : and with one of them (Marlowe) I care not if I never be : the other (Shakespeare) whom at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that as I have moderated the heat of living writers, and might have used my own discretion (especially in such a case, the author being dead) that I did not I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault ; ' etc.

The names ' Marlowe ' and ' Shakespeare ' put in in brackets are unwarrantable interpolations, and provide a typical instance of the manner in which the biography of Shaksper of Stratford has been built up.

The question as to whether Shaksper of Stratford is referred to, either as Shake-scene or as the man who was excellent in the quality he professed, is an important one, and it will be well to consider it and see what the evidence is.

Now, either Shake-scene is or is not a reference to Shaksper of Stratford.

If it is not a reference to Shaksper of Stratford, then that is the end of the whole matter. The personality of Shaksper of Stratford does not enter into the question at all ; for there are no other remarks that point to him in any way more than to anybody else.

If it is a reference to Shaksper of Stratford, then he could not have been one of the men who took offence and whom Chettle considered excellent in the quality he

professed. Chettle distinctly says that the men who took offence were two of the play-writers addressed by Greene. These ' play-makers ' were warned against ' an upstart crow,' that is against Shake-scene. Shaksper of Stratford could not possibly have been one of these ' play-makers ' ; for Greene would not have addressed Shaksper of Stratford warning him against Shaksper of Stratford.

R. M. Theobald,[1] considering the question of the identity of Shake-scene and Shaksper of Stratford, says :—

> ' The writer seems to be very angry with some one who has by false pretences secured a prize which legitimate dramatic authors and playwrights, belonging officially to the author's craft, have been unable to secure. The successful man is " an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tiger's heart wrapt in a player's hyde* supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blanke verse as the best of you, and being an absolute *Johannes Factotum* is, in his owne conceipt, the only *Shake-scene* in the countrie." This was published in 1596—but entered at Stationers' Hall in September 1592, and probably published for the first time in that year. Now whatever interpretation we may give to these cryptic words, I do not think we can gather from them that the " upstart crow " was an author, but only an actor, who pretended to be an author also. For being only a handy man at the theatre he is not one of the writers' class, and has no right to profess himself an author. He is wearing feathers which do not rightfully belong to him, and pretending to be what he really was not. He is not a dramatist, but only a spouter. All this is consistent with the idea that Shakspere [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford], if he is intended, was not the writer of the plays which were attributed to him, and thus the question not only remains open, it is actually started, and a clear place is left for the Baconian or any other hypothesis. But *is* the allusion to Shakspere [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford] at all? I very much doubt it. In 1592 " Shakespeare " did not exist in literature at all, and only two or three of the plays which subsequently appeared under this name could have been written. It is difficult to understand how any soreness could have been occasioned in Greene's mind by William Shakespeare's success at that time, such as it was, either as an author or an actor.
>
> ' And I do not find in the word *Shake-scene* any necessary reference to Shakspere [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford]. The word probably only points sarcastically to some pompous and ostentatious player who treads heavily on the boards, shaking the stage with his footsteps and the house with his thunder.'

[1] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

J. H. Stotsenburg, in *An Impartial Study of The Shakespeare Title*, says there is no more reason for identifying Shaksper of Stratford with the Shake-scene of Greene than there is for identifying him with the Shakestone of Heywood and Brome's play of the *Witches of Lancashire*.

Personally, I think that Shake-scene is a reference to Shake-speare, the supposed author of the plays, and I account for it in this way.

I think it most probable that some of the plays had been produced before the dates given by Halliwell-Phillipps. They had been attributed to William Shakespeare, and as there was an actor of the somewhat similar name of William Shaksper, the actor was supposed to be the author. Those who knew nothing of him personally judged of him by what they thought was his work, but the play-writers, who knew what sort of man he was, were suspicious. They felt that an illiterate player could not have written the plays, and they were jealous of him, for his supposed plays were more popular than their own. They also recognised the large amount of adaptations from earlier plays and other writings. Nashe in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon* had jeered at writers 'who think to outbrave better pens with the swelling bombast of bragging verse, and translate twopenny pamphlets from the Italian,' and Greene in his *Groatsworth of Wit* speaks scathingly of 'an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his Tygres heart wrapt in a Players hyde, supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is in his owne conceit the onely Shake-scene in the countrey.'

In *The Return from Parnassus*, which was produced in 1601, and printed in 1606, Studioso, speaking of actors, says:—

> 'England affords those glorious vagabonds,
> That carried earst their fardels on their backes,
> Coursers to ride on through the gazing streets,
> Sooping it in their glaring satten sutes,
> And Pages to attend their maisterships;
> With mouthing words that better wits have framed,
> They purchase lands, and now Esquires are made.'

The first four lines of the above extract should be

compared with the title page of the *Cryptographic Book* published in 1624 that is referred to later in Part II. of these Notes. The last two lines refer to Shaksper of Stratford. I think there can be no doubt about this, for he was the only actor who obtained a Grant of Arms from the Heralds' College, and so became an Esquire. The point to be noticed is that he had been enabled to purchase land and to be made an Esquire, not by speaking the words he himself had written, but by 'mouthing words that better wits had framed.' This shows that the author of *The Return from Parnassus* did not regard Shaksper of Stratford as the author of the plays by acting in which he had made his money.

The same conclusion must, I think, be drawn from the pamphlet called *Ratsey's Ghost, or the second part of his mad prankes and Robberies*. This pamphlet was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1605. Halliwell-Phillipps prints it in full. Ratsey, speaking to a country actor, says:—

> 'Get thee to London, for if one man were dead, they will have much neede of such a one as thou art. There would be none in my opinion fitter then thyselfe to play his parts. My conceipt is such of thee, that I durst venture all the mony in my purse on thy head to play Hamlet with him for a wager. There thou shalt learn to be frugall—for players were never so thriftie as they are now about London—and to feed upon all men, to let none feede upon thee; to make thy hand a stranger to thy pocket, thy hart slow to perform thy tongues promise, and when thou feelest thy purse well lined, buy thee some place of lordship in the country, that, growing weary of playing, thy mony may there bring thee to dignitie and reputation; then thou needest care for no man, nor not for them that before made thee prowd with speaking their words upon the stage.'

Halliwell-Phillipps[1] is of opinion that Shaksper of Stratford 'in all probability is included amongst the players who are mentioned as having arrived in London from the provinces in an impecunious condition, and afterwards risen to wealth.' I think there can be little doubt that he is clearly identified. The point to be noticed in the above extract is that the country actor, like Shaksper of Stratford, need care for no man, not even

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

for those authors whose words he had at one time been proud of speaking upon the stage. This shows that the writer of *Ratsey's Ghost* knew that the words Shaksper of Stratford had spoken upon the stage were not his own, but were the words of somebody else.

If Shaksper of Stratford had been the author of the plays, the poems, and the sonnets, and, consequently, the greatest philosophical dramatist and poet the world has ever known, some traces of this pre-eminence might be expected to survive in history; such as (R. M. Theobald [1] remarks) some traditions pointing to his connection with public life, with which his writings show him to have been remarkably familiar; some account of his studies in ancient and modern history and in classical literature; some proofs of foreign travel, especially in France; something to account for his exceptional acquaintance with Courts, kings, and upper-class society; something to explain his distaste for the lower and middle classes and his patrician scorn for the common people; some indications that he valued learning for its own sake and was ready to diffuse it, by giving his children a good education, and by promoting intellectual pursuits in his native town when he retired from business and took up his residence there, a wealthy and unoccupied man. But history records no facts that show Shaksper of Stratford to have been the sort of man that the person responsible for the plays must have been. Tradition is no better. There are traditions about the stealing of deer and rabbits, about drinking bouts, about his having been the father of William Davenant, and about the discreditable trick played on a brother actor in regard to a woman of easy virtue. None of these traditions may be true; but if they are true they do not help to make him what the person responsible for the plays must have been. The lives of Shaksper of Stratford that have been written give innumerable details of what the author of the plays must have been, and, consequently, purely fanciful pictures of what Shaksper of Stratford was; for which fanciful pictures not a shred of historical basis can be found.

[1] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

Another extraordinary point is that there is not the slightest evidence that Shaksper of Stratford ever claimed the plays as his own. Sir Sidney Lee certainly proves that he was a sharp man of business and succeeded in making money. In one case he took proceedings against his debtor's surety, and in another he sued Philip Rogers for £1, 15s. 10d. Surely, if he had been the author of the plays he would not have allowed some printers to pirate them, as Sir Sidney Lee says they did, and others to palm off spurious works as his compositions. During his lifetime three plays, entitled *The London Prodigal*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, and *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, were published under the name of William Shakespeare, and three entitled *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *The Puritan Widow*, and *Locrine*, under the initials W. S. But Shaksper of Stratford did nothing; he took it all lying down. Bacon could not have taken proceedings to stop these publications without divulging his identity.

On retiring from London Shaksper of Stratford settled down in a small country town where he would have few intellectual companions, and there is nothing to show that he ever did, or attempted to do, anything to elevate the intelligence or improve the condition of his fellow townsmen.

I have no desire to belittle Shaksper of Stratford. He may have been a good sort of fellow in his way. I believe he was a good business man, but I do not believe he was a literary man.

In 1904 T. Le Marchant Douse published a book entitled *Examination of an Old Manuscript preserved in the library of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick and sometimes called The Northumberland Manuscript*. The book contains an excellent facsimile of the first page. On the right hand side of this first page is a list of writings, which forms a kind of Table of Contents. Mr. Douse gives this list, as follows:—

'Mr ffrauncis Bacon
Of tribute or giving what is dew
The praise of the worthiest virtue
The praise of the worthiest affection
The praise of the worthiest power
The praise of the worthiest person

Earle of Arundells letter to the Queen.
Speaches for my lord of Essex at the tylt.
A speach for my lord of Sussex tilt.
Leycesters Common Wealth. Incerto au(c)tore.
Orations at Graies Inne revells.
[Letter to the ?] Queenes Ma^te^
By Mr ffrauncis Bacon.
Essaies by the same author.
William Shakespeare.
Rychard the second.
Rychard the third.
Asmund and Cornelia.
Ile of d(o)gs . frmnt . (*i.e.* " fragment ").
By Thomas Nashe [& ?] inferior plaier(s. ?).'

Mr. Douse considers that the manuscript consists of copies of writings that the Duke of Northumberland of the time took a fancy to and copies of which he wished to have, and that the copies were written out by his secretary or scrivener, who he thinks was John Davies of Hereford.

The above list is not a correct Table of Contents of the existing manuscript, for some of the works mentioned in it are not in the manuscript, while the latter contains certain works that are not in the list. This point, however, is not important for my present purpose ; what is important is the list itself.

No doubt Shaksperians will say that this list is evidence that the plays of *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* were written by William Shakespeare. Well, nobody doubts that William Shakespeare was responsible for these plays ; the only question is ' who was William Shakespeare ? ' The entry does not upset the Baconian theory in any way, but it cannot, as it stands in Mr. Douse's list, be used as an argument in favour of the Baconian view.

On looking at Mr. Douse's list two points occur to one. First, the position of the name ' William Shakespeare,' which is not in the middle above the *Rychard the second*, but some distance to the right. Second, that in the case of the works attributed to Bacon and Nashe we have the words ' By Mr. ffrauncis Bacon ' and ' By Thomas Nashe,' whereas in the case of Shakespeare we have the bare entry ' William Shakespeare.' This leads one to compare Mr. Douse's list with the list in the

facsimile of the first page of the manuscript at the beginning of his book. If this be done it will be noticed that his list is not quite correct. The position of the ' Shakespeare ' is more or less correct, but the ' William ' in the manuscript is more to the left. The ' W ' of ' William ' is above the ' a ' of ' Richard ' and the final ' m ' above the ' e ' of ' the.'

This in itself is not important, except that it leads one to look a little more to the left, where one will find, written in the same line as the ' William Shakespeare ' and about the same distance from the ' William ' as the ' William ' is from the ' Shakespeare,' the words ' By Mr. ffrauncis.' At first sight the name ' ffrauncis ' does not catch the eye ; for a second ' ffrauncis ' is written across it upside down. Whether this has been done by chance or in order to obliterate or to emphasise the first ' ffrauncis,' I do not venture to suggest ; but the fact remains that the words ' By Mr. ffrauncis ' are there, and the last ten lines of the list are :—

' Orations at Graies Inne revells.
[Letter to the ?] Queenes Ma^te^
By Mr ffrauncis Bacon.
Essaies by the same author.
By Mr ffrauncis William Shakespeare
Rychard the second.
Rychard the third.
Asmund and Cordelia.
Ile of d(o)gs . frmnt . (*i.e.* " fragment ").
By Thomas Nashe [& ?] inferior plaier(s. ?).'

The ' By Mr.' before ' ffrauncis William Shakespeare ' appears to be in the same handwriting as the ' By Mr.' written before the ' ffrauncis Bacon ' two lines above.

The *Northumberland Manuscript* shows that the person responsible for the plays of *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* was a person whom the writer of the list chose to call Mr. Francis William Shakespeare, and provides strong evidence in favour of the Baconian view.

Perhaps the Shaksperian argument that is most frequently heard is that Shaksper of Stratford has been admitted to be the author of the plays for three hundred years.

I have already given evidence that several leading literary men of his time knew he was not the author. I admit that the general public, the 'sluggish gaping auditor' as Ben Jonson calls them, most probably regarded him as the author, that is if they ever thought about the matter at all, but it is well to consider what the opinion of the general public comes to.

We must not measure the condition of affairs in Elizabethan times by modern literary standards, says Walter Begley.[1] Authors and printers were constantly deceiving the public as to authorship. Sometimes several writers joined together in writing a play, as *Henslowe's Diary* shows, and when it was produced it would go before the public under the name of one author only. No one could be certain who had collaborated with the one writer whose name appeared on the programme of a play. Consequently, when the name 'Shakespeare' appeared as the author of a play, the public would not make inquiries as to whether he was the real author or not; they would take the statement for granted and think no more about it.

What do we do at the present time?

If we go to a theatre and see a play acted that according to the programme is written by A, we do not make inquiries as to whether A is the real author or not. Suppose that B had revised plays and wanted to have them produced on the stage, but for reasons best known to himself did not wish his name to appear, and arranged with A, an actor of some repute and a sort of stage-manager, to bring them out in his name. A has agreed to this and, being a man of some experience in the ways of the stage, makes certain additions to the plays calculated to make them more acceptable to the audience. Under such circumstances no one would doubt that the plays were A's. As soon as the first play produced had passed as A's work the rest would follow in a natural sequence.

This is what I believe was done by Bacon in the case of the Shakespeare plays. Those who knew the secret would not blurt it out publicly; especially if they knew,

as I am sure many of them did know, that the person mainly responsible for these plays did not wish his name to be known.

The question of the authorship of the plays at the time they appeared was not the burning question that it is to-day, and it must not be forgotten that the present great admiration for them is of comparatively modern growth, commencing about the middle of the eighteenth century. The following are remarks made by some well-known literary men.

Evelyn said that the plays ' begin to disgust the present age.' Pepys described *A Midsummer Night's Dream* as the ' most insipid, ridiculous ' play, *Romeo and Juliet* as the ' worst ' he had ever seen, and *Twelfth Night* as ' silly.' Voltaire described Shakespeare as a barbarian, whose works, ' a huge dunghill,' contained some pearls. Hume charged both Shakespeare and Bacon with ' defective taste and elegance.' Addison pronounced the plays to be ' very faulty.' Dr. Johnson said that Shakespeare had not produced ' one play which, as a work of a contemporary writer, would be heard to a conclusion.' Dryden considered Shakespeare as ' below the dullest writers of our own or any precedent age.'

It would appear from the above that for a period of about a hundred years the Shakespeare plays were considered of little account. If this were so, it would not have been worth anybody's while to trouble about their authorship. Moreover, shortly after the death of James I. the civil wars distracted men's minds from literary matters, and the reign of the Puritans put the stage under a cloud.

The tradition of three hundred years' standing cannot be considered conclusive evidence of authorship. The individual men who knew the secret died, but the name ' Shakespeare ' in the Dedications of the poems and on the printed plays and the generally accepted belief of the ' sluggish gaping auditor ' remained.

A great deal has been written about the signatures of Shaksper of Stratford. These signatures are six in number. The first in date is in a Purchase Deed of a house in Blackfriars dated 10th March 1613,

which Deed is now in the Guildhall Library in London ; the second is in a Mortgage of the same house, dated next day, which Mortgage is now in the British Museum ; the next three are in Shaksper of Stratford's will of 1616 ; and the sixth is in Answers to Interrogatories, which Answers are now in the Record Office.

Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence's book, *Bacon is Shakespeare*, contains photographic reproductions of these six signatures. Sir Edwin comes to the conclusion that not any of these signatures is a signature at all, that in the case of the Purchase Deed and the Mortgage the so-called signatures are both abbreviated names of Shaksper of Stratford written by the clerks who wrote the deeds, that in the case of the will the three so-called signatures were all written by Francis Collyns who prepared the will, and in the case of the so-called signature in the Answers to Interrogatories that it is written by the law clerk who wrote the Answers. He points out that under the so-called signature last mentioned there is a mark, showing that Shaksper of Stratford signed the document with a mark. Personally, I do not think it is a mark. He comes to the conclusion that Shaksper of Stratford was an absolutely ignorant person who was unable even to sign his name.

With this view I cannot agree. The signatures are not such as a law clerk or a solicitor would write ; they are laboured, irregular, and shaky, and are not such as anybody accustomed to the use of the pen would write. The William of the signature to the Purchase Deed and the William of the third signature of the will are better and more firmly written than the other portions of these signatures ; and it may be that in these two cases the two ' Williams ' were written by the law clerk and Francis Collyns respectively and that Shaksper of Stratford signed his name after them. I notice two points that bear this out. First, in the Purchase Deed the name Shaksper is written under the name William and in a different kind of writing, and in the third signature of the will the name Shaksper, or whatever it may be, though written after the name William, is not in the same

line and not in the same kind of writing. Second, in both cases the ' W ' of William has the dot in the middle, which was frequent with law writers of the time. With regard to the signature to the Answers I think there can be little doubt that it was written by the law clerk. The previous five, with the exceptions before mentioned, seem to me to be the writing of a man unaccustomed to the use of the pen who had made a *bona fide* effort to write his name to important documents that required his signature, and who had not succeeded very well.

There are rapid writers and slow writers and writers whose writing is difficult to read, and the ordinary writing of some people, especially that of the rapid writer, is apt to vary ; but there is always a similarity in each man's signature if he is accustomed to writing. The writer of these five signatures was clearly a slow writer and had no fixed signature. No two of the signatures are alike ; each is different from the others. All the ' W 's of William differ. No two of the ' S 's of Shaksper are alike. The Christian name is written ' William ' in three cases, ' Wm ' in one, and either ' Willm ' or ' Willin ' in another. The writer of the signature to the mortgage writes his name ' Wm Shakspe,' and then puts something over the final ' e ' that looks like an ' a ' but may have been intended for an ' r.' The man who wrote these signatures had, obviously, no facility in the use of the pen such as the author of the Shakespeare plays must have had.

W. H. Burr, an expert in handwriting and formerly an official stenographer of the Senate of the United States, has carefully examined the first five signatures. Taking the surname ' Shaksper,' he points out that all the capital ' S 's are different, all the ' h 's different, three out of the five ' a 's are alike, all the ' k 's are different, all the long ' s 's different, and all the ' p 's different. He deciphers the spelling of the five signatures as follows. The name signed to both the Purchase Deed and the Mortgage is ' Shaksper.' In the case of the three names in the will, the first six letters are in each case ' Shaksp,' but the remaining letters are uncertain.

I may add that Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence deciphers

the spelling of the name at the end of the Answers to Interrogatories as 'Shaxpr.' By no possible stretch of the imagination could any of the six signatures be made out to be 'Shakespeare' or 'Shake-speare.' As the only existing signature that is clear is written 'Shaksper,' I have adopted this spelling when referring to the Stratford man.

Having considered the five signatures W. H. Burr says [1]:—

> 'All the records of Shaksper's lifetime have been hunted up and printed. From these documents, consisting of deeds, bills of complaint, letters, poems, plays, &c.—most of which especially concerned either the father or son or both—we extract the following spellings, giving the dates.'

He then gives the following list:—

In 1582, as a bridegroom, 'Shagsper.'
In 1593 and 1594, as a poet 'Shakespeare,' and from 1596 to 1623, as a playwriter, 'Shakespeare,' but sometimes with a hyphen—'Shake-speare.'
In 1596, as an inhabitant of Southwark, 'Shaksper.'
In 1598, as addressed in a letter from Quiney, 'Shackesper.'
In 1598, as an owner of corn, 'Shakesper.'
In 1604, as plaintiff in a suit, 'Shexpere.'
In 1604 and 1605, as an author of plays performed at Whitehall before King James, 'Shaxberd.'
In 1609, as plaintiff in a suit, 'Shackspeare.'
In 1612, as plaintiff in a suit, 'Schackspeare.'
In 1613, as written in the body of the Purchase Deed and the Mortgage, 'Shakespeare.'
In 1614, in a letter written to his cousin, 'Shakspear.'
In 1616, in the body of his will, 'Shackspeare.' The three signatures omit the 'c,' and it is not possible to say with certainty what the last three or four letters are.

It is not necessary to say anything about the name 'Shakespeare' or 'Shake-speare' in the Dedications of the poems or on the title pages of the plays; for my contention is that 'Shakespeare,' or 'Shake-speare,' was a pseudonym adopted by Bacon when he wrote the poems and revised the plays. The spelling of the name in the Purchase Deed and in the Mortgage is obviously a mistake

[1] *Bacon and Shakspere.*

of the law clerk who drew the deeds, and the error is corrected by the signatures.

Mr. Burr then gives other spellings of the name, which refer either to Shaksper of Stratford, or his father John, or to some other member of the family. They are as follows :—

Shakspere, in 1558, 1562, 1563, 1564, 1566, 1569, 1571, 1579, 1580, 1583, 1585, 1590, 1596, 1616, and 1617. Mr. Burr states that John Shakspere and all his offspring were so registered, except one, Richard, who was baptized in 1574 as ' Shakspeer.'
Shaxpere, in 1558, 1579, 1607 and 1608.
Shakspeyr, in 1567.
Shakysper, in 1568.
Shackespere, in 1573, 1589, and 1602.
Shakespere, in 1575, 1579, 1596, 1597, 1598, 1599, 1602, 1604, 1606, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1611, and 1613.
Shackspere, in 1579 and 1608.
Shakspeare, in 1601, 1603, 1607, 1612, 1613, 1614, and 1623.
Schackspeare, in 1603 and 1614.
Shakespear, in 1605.
Shakesphear, in 1605.
Shaxper, in 1616.

I do not know what Mr. Burr's authorities are for the various spellings.

There can be no doubt that in 1564 an individual was baptised at Stratford-on-Avon under the name of William Shakspere, and that in the only legible signatures that exist he signed his surname as Shaksper ; but there is no satisfactory evidence to show that such an individual as William Shakespeare or William Shake-speare ever existed in the time of Elizabeth or James.

If such a name as William Shake-speare were to appear on the title page of a play or a book at the present time it would be ' spotted ' at once as a pseudonym.

The conclusion that I come to from an examination of the signatures is, not that Shaksper of Stratford was an absolutely ignorant man who was unable to write at all, but that he was not a person who was able to write with facility. Such a person could not have written the Shake-speare plays, which must have run to many thousands of manuscript pages, but he might have been able to write the few portions that I suggest he may have added to

Bacon's revisions. If a man cannot write, the probability is that he cannot read, and if Shaksper of Stratford could neither write nor read I do not see how he could ever have become an actor.

It is considered by many people that the name William Shakespeare, or William Shake-speare, printed on the title pages of the Shakespeare plays proves that Shaksper of Stratford was the author. To my mind it proves nothing of the sort. It only brings us back to the question: Was William Shakespeare or William Shake-speare, Shaksper of Stratford spelt in a way that neither he nor any member of his family ever adopted and in a way which there was no reason that he or they ever should adopt, or was it a pseudonym of Francis Bacon?

I have already stated that during the lifetime of Shaksper of Stratford the three plays of *The London Prodigal*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, and *A Yorkshire Tragedy* were published under the name of William Shakespeare, and the three plays of *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *The Puritan Widow*, and *Locrine* under the initials W. S. For some time these plays were believed to have been written by Shakespeare; but it is now admitted that he had nothing to do with them. They are now regarded as spurious. In other words, the name Shakespeare and the initials W. S. are rejected as evidence of Shakespeare's authorship. But one cannot blow both hot and cold, and if a name on a title page is not to be taken as evidence in one case, it must not be taken as evidence in another. Consequently the name Shakespeare on the title pages of the Shakespeare plays cannot be used as evidence in favour of Shaksper of Stratford. These six spurious plays show that the publication of a play under a particular name is no proof that that name is the name of the real author.

REASON 5

Bacon was a poet.

THERE is a popular fallacy that the persons best qualified to pass an opinion agree that Bacon had no poetical gifts. The authorities are by no means so agreed. Many well-known literary men have expressed a totally different opinion.

Macaulay says : ' The poetic faculty was powerful in Bacon's mind.' John Stuart Blackie, speaking of his *Essays*, mentions his ' poetical imagination,' and adds that his ' similes, for their aptness and their vividness, are of a kind of which Shakespeare, or Goethe, or Richter might have been proud.' Charles Knight speaks of his ' high poetical spirit which gleams out of every page of his philosophy.' William Hazlitt says : ' The chain of thought reaches the highest heaven of invention.' E. Bulwer Lytton, speaking of *The Advancement of Learning*, says : ' Poetry pervaded the thoughts, it inspired the similes, it hymned in the majestic sentences of the wisest of mankind.' Shelley, in his *Defence of Poetry*, says definitely : ' Bacon was a poet.'

Bacon's views about poetry are expressed in the *Conference of Pleasure*, where the Hermit says :—

> ' The gardens of love, wherein he now placeth himself, are fresh today and fading tomorrow, as the sun comports them or is turned from them. But the Gardens of the Muses keep the privileges of the golden age : they ever flourish and are in league with time. The monuments of wit survive the monuments of power. The verses of a poet endure without a syllable lost, while States and Empires pass many periods.'

In *De Augmentis*, he says :—

> ' " Dramatic poesy is as history made visible, for it represents actions as if they were present, whereas history represents them as past." Dramatic poetry, " which has the theatre for its world,

would be of excellent use if well directed; for the stage is capable of no small influence both of discipline and corruption. Now of corruptions of this kind we have enough, but the discipline has in our times been plainly neglected. But though in modern states play-acting is esteemed but as a toy, except when it is too satirical and biting, yet, among the ancients, it was used as a means of educating men's minds to virtue, nay, it has been regarded by learned men and great philosophers as a kind of musician's bow, by which Men's minds may be played upon. . . . The art of acting should be made a part of the education of youth—for though it be of ill repute as a profession, yet as a part of discipline it is of excellent use." '

In *The Masculine Birth of Time*, speaking of the ignorance and bigotry of his days, he says :—

' A new process must be instituted by which to insinuate ourselves into minds so entirely obstructed. . . . So men generally taste well knowledges that are drenched in flesh and blood, civil history, morality, policy, about which men's affections, praises, fortunes do turn or are conversant.'

These last two extracts show clearly that Bacon regarded the stage as an educating factor, and I believe he was referring to the stage as an educating factor when in *As You Like It*, Act II. Scene vii., he put into the mouth of Jaques the words :—

' Invest me in my motley; give me leave
To speak my mind, and I will through and through
Cleanse the foul body of the infected world,
If they will patiently receive my medicine.'

The Shakespeare plays realise Bacon's ideal above mentioned, but, as far as I know, he never referred to them or mentioned them in any way. If he was responsible for them and did not wish it to be known, he could not have drawn attention to them; but if somebody else had written them, there is every reason why he should have noticed them, since they carried out his expressed views as educating factors.

Bacon says in the Preface to his *Interpretation of Nature* :—

' Whereas I believed myself born for the service of mankind, and reckoned the case of the common weal to be among those duties that are of public right, open to all alike, even as the waters and

the air, I therefore asked myself what could most advantage mankind, and for the performance of what tasks I seemed to be shaped by nature.

'But when I searched, I found no work so meritorious as the discovery and development of the arts and inventions that tend to civilise the life of men. . . . Moreover, I found in my own nature a special adaptation for the contemplation of truth. For I had a mind at once versatile enough for that most important object—I mean the recognition of similitudes—and at the same time sufficiently steady and concentrated for the observation of subtle shades of difference. . . . I had no hankering after novelty, no blind admiration for antiquity.'

Writing to Lord Burleigh in 1592 he says :—

'I have taken all knowledge to be my province.'

The above two extracts show that Bacon had all the knowledge necessary for a reviser of the plays, and that he was just the sort of man one would expect the reviser to be, provided that he had the poetical gift. I have already given the opinions of high experts who, judging only from his prose works, have declared that he had this poetical gift. I will now show that several of his contemporaries regarded him as a great poet. These extracts are evidence that Bacon considered himself 'born for the service of mankind,' in other words, that his call in life was to educate his fellow-men. He was willing to efface himself if he could teach others. In carrying out this call in life he wrote philosophical works for those who were capable of understanding them, and revised plays for those who were less educated : plays, moreover, that when revised were calculated to raise up all those who listened to them. There were no daily papers or periodicals in his day, and his only means of appealing to the less educated general public and lifting them up was by speaking to them in the plays. He realised that the stage could be used for the education and elevation of the people.

Before mentioning the contemporary references to Bacon as a poet I will give some statements that Bacon made with regard to himself.

In a letter that he wrote to Sir John Davis in 1603 he referred to himself as a concealed poet.

In his *Apology* concerning the late Earl of Essex, published in 1604, he said that shortly before the trial, 'being about the middle of Michaelmas term, her Majesty had a purpose to dine at my lodge at Twicknam Park, at which time I had (though I profess not to be a poet) prepared a Sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw her Majesty's reconcilement to my Lord.' The word 'profess' is derived from the Latin 'profiteor,' which means 'to declare publicly.' Bacon frequently used words with the meaning of the Latin words from which they were derived. In the above case he did not say he was not a poet, he meant that he had not publicly announced himself to be a poet; thus corroborating his previous statement to Sir John Davis.

Writing to the Earl of Essex in 1594, he says :—

> 'I may perceive by my Lord Keeper, that your Lordship, as the time served, signified unto him an intention to confer with his Lordship at better opportunity; which in regard to your several and weighty occasions I have thought good to put your Lordship in remembrance of; that now, at his coming to the Court, it may be executed; desiring your good Lordship nevertheless not to conceive out of this my diligence in soliciting this matter that I am either much in appetite or much in hope. For as for appetite, the waters of Parnassus are not like the waters of the Spaw, that give a stomach; but rather they quench appetite and desires.'

As Walter Begley remarks, there is not much of the concealed poet here. 'He admits that he has been quenching his thirst from the waters of that Castalian fount which springs from the foot of Mount Parnassus—or, in plainer English he admits that he has been writing poetry, and assumes pretty clearly that Essex knows the fact.'[1]

In his last prayer Bacon says :—

> 'I have hated all cruelty and hardness of heart; I have, though in a despised weed, sought the good of all men.'

I show in Reason 9 of these Notes that Bacon used the word 'weed' with the meaning of a dress or garment that disguises the wearer. By what 'despised weed' had he sought to procure the good of all men if it were not in the Shakespeare plays? The term 'weed' cannot

[1] *Is it Shakespeare?*

be applied to his acknowledged philosophical works. Personally, I have no doubt that the 'despised weed' here mentioned was the drama by which he had endeavoured to educate and elevate his fellow creatures. As I have mentioned elsewhere in these Notes, Halliwell-Phillipps says that 'even the vocation of a dramatic writer was considered scarcely respectable.'[1]

Writing to Sir Toby Matthew in 1604 Bacon says that his head has been 'wholly employed on invention.'

Somewhere about 1609 he writes to Sir Toby as follows :—

> 'I send you some copies of my Book of the Advancement, which you desired, and a little work of my recreation which you desired not. Those works of the Alphabet are in my opinion of less use to you where you are now than in Paris ; and therefore I conceived that you had sent me a kind of tacit countermand of your former request. But in regard that some friends of yours insisted here, I send them to you, and, for my part, I value your own reading more than your publishing them to others.'

Some light is thrown on the meaning of the terms 'work of my recreation' and 'works of the Alphabet' by the note in Folio 93 of the Promus :—

> 'Tragedy and Comedy are made of the same alphabet.'

In the letter last mentioned the hint given by Bacon to Sir Toby that these works of recreation and works of the Alphabet are not to be mentioned to other people should be noticed.

In 1621, shortly after his fall, Bacon writes to his literary friend Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador in London :—

> 'Me vero jam vocat et etas, et fortuna, atque etiam Genius meus cui adhuc satis morose satisfeci, ut excedens e theatro rerum civilium literis me dedam, et ipsos actores instruam, et posteritati servam.'

Spedding translates this as follows :—

> 'But for myself, my age, my fortune, yea my Genius, to which I have hitherto done but scant justice, calls me now to retire from the stage of civil action and betake myself to letters, and to the instruction of the actors themselves, and the service of Posterity.'

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[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

In *De Augmentis* Bacon, addressing the King, says :—

> ' Ego certe (Rex optime), ut de meipso, quod res est, loquar, & in iis quae nunc edo, & in iis quae in posterum meditor, Dignitatem Ingenii & Nominis mei (si qua sit) sospius sciens & volens projicio, dum Commodis Humanis inserviam.'

This has been translated :—

> ' Truly, I (worthiest King), in speaking of myself, as matters stand, both in that which I now publish, and in that which I plan for the future, often, consciously and purposely, cast aside the Authority of my Genius and of my Name (if such thing be), while I serve the welfare of Mankind.'

Where, when, and how did Bacon cast aside the authority of his name if it were not in the case of the Shakespeare plays ?

Writing to Bishop Andrews in 1622, Bacon says :—

> ' As for my Essays and some other particulars of that nature, I count them but as the recreations of my other studies, and in that sort purpose to continue them ; though I am not ignorant that that kind of writing would, with less pains and embracement, perhaps yield more lustre and reputation on my name than those which I have in hand.'

In this letter, which was written shortly before the publication of the First Folio, Bacon states that he intends to continue the works of his recreation, and that he is aware that they would yield more lustre on his name than those on which he was then engaged. To my mind the inference to be drawn is that these works of his recreation were not known to be his. He means, I think, that if they were known to be his they would add more lustre to his name than his acknowledged works.

In many letters between Bacon and his great friend Sir Toby Matthew, ' writings ' are alluded to, and in one of them Bacon asks Sir Toby to be ' careful of the writings submitted to you that no man may see them.'

Edward Borman,[1] a German investigator, states that a letter written by Sir Toby and referring to Bacon contains the expression, ' as that excellent authors Sir John Falstaff says.' Sir Sidney Lee also quotes this letter in his *Life of Shakespeare*, but gives the expression ' as that excellent author Sir John Falstaff says.' It will be

[1] *Francis Bacon's Cryptic Rhymes.*

noticed that whether the correct word is 'authors' or 'author' is somewhat important. I have not seen this letter and do not know where it is, and therefore cannot say which quotation is correct.[1]

In a letter Sir Toby wrote to Bacon he said :—

'I will not return you weight for weight, but measure for measure.'

In 1623 Bacon wrote to Sir Toby about putting the 'alphabet in a frame.' It has been suggested that this was a reference to the publication of the plays in the First Folio. Whether this was so or not, it shows that the two friends were interested in some secret that they did not wish to refer to openly. It will be remembered that the First Folio was published in 1623. I have mentioned that there is a note in the Promus that tragedy and comedy are of the same alphabet.

In 1623 the First Folio appeared and the series of Shakespeare plays came to an end. In the same year *De Augmentis* was published, and in it Bacon says :—

'Poesy is as it were a dream of learning : a thing sweet and varied and fain to be thought partly divine, a quality which dreams also sometimes affect. But now it is time for me to become fully awake, to lift myself up from the earth, and to wing my way through the liquid ether of philosophy and the sciences.'

To my mind, Bacon tells us clearly as any one can tell us that he had written poetry, but that with the publication of the First Folio he had finished with it, and intended to devote the remainder of his life to philosophy and science. He could not have been referring to his versification of the Psalms, for they were not published till 1624.

I will now mention some references to Bacon as a poet made by his contemporaries.

Aubrey, speaking of Bacon, says :—

'His lordship was a good poet, but concealed.'

Thomas Nash, in his Preface to Greene's *Menaphon*, refers to the author of *Hamlet* as one of those who 'leave the trade of *noverint* wherein they were borne and besie themselves with the indeavours of art.' So according to

[1] Walter Begley in *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio* says that the name Sir John Falstaff was used as a synonym for Francis Bacon by those who were in the secret.

him the person responsible for *Hamlet* was a lawyer and the son of a lawyer. Bacon was a lawyer and the son of a lawyer, but Shaksper of Stratford was neither the one nor the other.

In 1612 John Owen, the epigrammist, published the following epigram :—

> ' ad D. B.
> Si bene qui latuit, bene vixit, tu bene vivis,
> Ingeniumque tuum grande latendo patet.'

This has been translated :—

> ' Thou livest well if one well hid well lives,
> And thy great wit, in being concealed, is revealed.'

If ' ad D. B.' is not an abbreviation for ' ad Dominum Baconum ' to what other person was Owen referring ?

Florio, who was on intimate terms with Bacon and who was one of his literary assistants at Gorhambury, in the Preface to his *Second Frutes* mentions a sonnet written by a ' friend ' of his, ' who loved better to be a poet than to be counted so.' This sonnet has been pronounced by both Professor Minto and Professor Baynes, who founded their opinion upon an examination of the text, to have been written by the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays.

In 1607 Sir Thomas Bodley, the founder of the Bodleian Library, wrote a letter to Bacon acknowledging the receipt of his tract ' Cogitata et Visa de Interpretatione Naturae,' which introduced Bacon's primary ideas with regard to the *Instauratio Magna*. In this letter Sir Thomas Bodley congratulates him on having finally chosen a fit subject for study, ' which course,' he says, ' would to God—to whisper as much in your ear—you had followed at first, when you fell to the study of such a study as was not worthy such a student.' G. C. Bompas in *The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays* says that Sir Thomas shared the prevailing prejudice against English plays, and would not admit ' such baggage ' into his library.

Edmund Waller, in dedicating his poems to Queen Henrietta Maria, says :—

> ' I might defend the attempt I have made upon poetry by the example of many wise and worthy persons of our own time, as Sir

Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Bacon, Cardinal Perron, &c., but, Madam, these nightingales sang only in the spring; it was the diversion of their youth.'

John Stow, in his *Annals* published in 1600, mentions Sir Francis Bacon in his list of 'our modern and present excellent poets which worthily flourish in their own words.'

Thomas Randolf in 1640 said that Phoebus was accessory to Bacon's death, because he was afraid lest Bacon should some day come to be crowned King of Poetry, and declares that as Bacon 'was himself a singer' he did not need to be celebrated in song by others.

George Herbert calls him the Colleague of Apollo.

Thomas Campion addresses him in the following words :—

'Whether the thorny volume of the Law, or the schools, or the Sweet Muse allure thee.'

John Davies of Hereford addressed the following verses to him while he (Bacon) was alive :—

TO THE ROYALL, INGENIOUS, AND LEARNED KNIGHT SIR FRANCIS BACON

THY bounty and the Beauty of thy witte,
Compris'd in lists of Law and learned arts,
Each making thee for great imployment fitt,
Which now thou hast (though short of thy deserts)
Compells my Pen to let fall shining Inke
And to bedew the Baies that deck thy Front;
And to thy health in Helicon to drinke
As to her Bellamour, the Muse is wont:
For thou dost her embozom; and dost use
Her company for sport 'twixt grave affairs,
So utterest Law the livelyer through thy Muse
And for that all thy Notes are sweetest Aires:
My Muse thus notes thy worth in every line
With yncke which thus she sugars; so to shine.

Here Bacon is referred to as the beloved of the Muse, that is as a poet, as having his brows bedecked with Bays, the emblem of literary fame, and as writing his poetry 'twixt grave affairs,' showing that his poetical writing was what he himself called the work of his recreation.

T. Le Marchant Douse, in his book on *The Northumberland Manuscript*, previously mentioned, refers to

these verses, and he does it in the following manner. He says :—

> ' It seems that Bacon had recently made him a present of money, or, more probably, had paid him lavishly for some assistance. But the poet's gratitude takes a singular form :—
>
> " Thy *bounty*, and the beauty of thy Witt . . .
> *Compells* my pen to let fall shining ink ! " '

By extracting these two lines from Davies's verses and printing the words ' bounty ' and ' Compells ' in italics, it would appear that Mr. Douse would have us conclude that having recently received money from Bacon, Davies felt *compelled* to praise him. I ask everybody of unbiassed mind to read the verses and see if they can bear any such interpretation. To me they are a voluntary tribute offered by Davies to Bacon's genius.

In *The Great Assises Holden in Parnassus by Apollo and his Assessors*, which was published in 1645 and which is generally believed to have been written by George Wither, Bacon appears as ' The Lord Verulam Chancellor of Parnassus.' His name is followed by ' Sir Philip Sidney, High Constable of Parnassus.' By placing Bacon first on the list and calling him the Chancellor of Parnassus it is clear that the author of *The Great Assises* regarded him as the greatest poet of the time. The name of William Shakespeere, that is of Shaksper of Stratford, also appears, but he is placed last but one in the list of ' Jurours ' and described as ' The writer of weekly accounts.'

In the course of the proceedings the Cryer calls out : ' Then Sylvester, Sands, Drayton, Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Shakespeare, and Heywood, Poets good and true.' But later on this statement is contradicted by the defendant, as far as Shaksper of Stratford is concerned, for he says : ' Shakespeare 's a mimicke.' Subsequently Apollo admits the correctness of the contradiction.

It is quite clear that the author of *The Great Assises* regarded Francis Bacon as the chief poet of the time and second only to Apollo himself, and that he did not regard Shaksper of Stratford as a poet at all, but only as an actor.

If Shaksper of Stratford had been acknowledged by his contemporaries as the author of the plays, one would

have thought they would on his death have joined in ' the laudatory laments that were wont to be bestowed on the illustrious dead.'

Sir George Greenwood, in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, puts it in this way :—

> ' Surely, when the great poet died there was a great burst of lamentation, a great concert of praise ! Surely all his brother minstrels who survived him vied with each other to write his elegy. Alas ! Again silence—the silence that can be felt. " His death was greeted with a chorus of elegiac and panegyrical verses, poured forth by the best poets of the moment," writes Mr. J. A. Symonds, but he is speaking not of Shakespeare but of Jonson. How different was the case of Shakespeare ! It was not till seven years after the death of Shakspere [*i.e.* of Shaksper of Stratford] Shakespeare's elegy was written by this Ben Jonson whose own death was thus " greeted with a chorus of elegiac and panegyrical verse." '

To put it shortly, it cannot be claimed that there were any literary laments on the death of Shaksper of Stratford until the First Folio appeared in 1623.

After Francis Bacon died, his secretary, Dr. Rawley, collected thirty-two elegies written by his admirers. ' These,' says G. C. Bompas,[1] ' call on Apollo and the Muses to lament his loss : one especially invoking Melpomene, the Muse of Tragedy and Lyric Poetry, another Clio, the Muse of History. Another begins : ' If thou should'st seek, O Bacon, to reclaim all thou hast given to poesy and the world.' Another commences :—

> ' Hush, for our grief a speaking silence loves,
> Now he is gone, our only Orator,
> Teller of tales that mazed the Courts of Kings.'

Now, if Francis Bacon was not responsible for the Shakespeare plays, what were the tales he told that ' mazed the Courts of Kings ' ?

Many of the elegies are in Latin. I will give a few extracts, followed by the meaning in English.

Bacon is referred to as :—

> ' Musarum Phosphorus.'
> *i.e.* ' The Morning Star of the Muses.'
>
> ' Decima musa, decusque chori.'
> *i.e.* ' The Tenth Muse and the Glory of the Muses' Choir.'

[1] *The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays.*

'Plus novem edecumata musa musis.'
i.e. 'A Muse more choice than the Nine.'

'Nostri praeses Apollo chori.'
i.e. 'Apollo the master of our Choir.'

'Et aeternare Camoenas chori.'
i.e. 'As being able to immortalise the Muses.'

We are told :—

'At Phoebum ut metuit ne rex foret iste Camoenis.'
i.e. 'Phoebus feared that he [Bacon] should be king among the Muses.'

One is :—

'Si repetes quantum mundo musisque (Bacone)
Donasti, vel si creditor esse velis ;
Conturbabit amor, mundus, musaeque, Jovisque
Arca, preces, coelum, carmina, thura, dolor.'

i.e. 'If you will claim, O Bacon, all that you have given to the world and the Muses, or if you wish to be their creditor, then love, the earth, the Muses, Jove's secrets, prayer, heaven, song, incense, and grief will become bankrupt.'

Another is :—

'Melpomene objurgans hoc nollet ferre ; deditque
Insuper ad tetricas talia verba deas.
Crudelis nunquam vere prius Atropos ; orbem
Totum habeas, Phoebum tu modo redde meum.'

Which may be translated :—

'Even Melpomene chided, she would not suffer it, and in her grief she called to the dark goddess : Ne'er till to-day, Atropos, wert thou cruel ; take the universe, but give my Apollo back to me.'

Harold Bayley in *The Shakespeare Symphony*, says :—

'In the melodious and well-ordered chorus of the Elizabethan dramatists we have seen how each individual writer deemed himself to be an Orpheus entrusted with the taming of unruly passions by the insinuating sweetness of Philosophy. In one of the longest of the *Manes* we find Lord Verulam hailed as an Orpheus who completely renovated Philosophy, *using Comedy and Tragedy for the Exposition of her doctrines*.'

The elegy referred to is :—

'Qualis per umbras Ditis Eurydice vagans
Palpare gestiit Orpheum, quali Orpheus,
Saliente tandem, vix prius crispa, Styge,
Alite fibras lyrae titillavit manu ;

Talis plicata philologon aenigmatis,
Petiit Baconum vindicem, tali manu
Lactata cristas extulit philosophia ;
Humique soccis repetantem comicis,
Non proprio ardelionibus molimine,
Sarsit, sed instauravit ; hinc politius
Surgit cothurno celsiore, et Organo
Stagirita viribus reviviscit Novo.'

Harold Bayley translates this :—

' Just as Eurydice wandering amid the shades of Dis yearned to lay hold of Orpheus, and as Orpheus with winged hand (Styx the while previously scarce ruffled, but now leaping to the sound) touched the strings of his lyre, so did Philosophy, entangled in the enigmas of mere word-dealers, seek Bacon as her champion and caressed by that hand raised high her crest ; and as she humbly crept in comedy he did not, after the manner of triflers, patch her, but completely renovated her, and afterwards more brilliantly still in loftier flight of tragedy he soared, and Aristotle alive again flourishes in the *Novum Organum*.'

I claim that this elegy is the strongest possible proof of the correctness of the opinion I have expressed in the Introduction to these Notes as to why Bacon interested himself in play-writing, namely, because the plays formed an important part of his scheme for the education and improvement of mankind.

The gist of Rawley's collection of contemporary praises is mainly the praise of Bacon as a poet, his philosophical writings are in comparison almost neglected. The Shaksperians endeavour to explain this by saying it is only the exaggerated praise given to a man after his death, and that it must not be taken literally. To this explanation the answer is, that people do not give praise to a deceased person for things that he never did. The elegies of his literary contemporaries collected by Rawley show that Bacon at the time of his death was known to be a great poet, and the last one quoted above shows that he incorporated his philosophy in comedies and tragedies.

It is admitted that Bacon wrote in verse form. He himself refers to his sonnet to Elizabeth. He wrote masques that were performed at Gray's Inn, and elsewhere in these Notes I have given an extract from the masque

of the *Indian Prince*. He versified the Psalms, and I say something about this versification later on. He wrote the following :—

'The world 's a bubble, and the life of man
Less than a span ;
In his conception wretched, from the womb,
So to the tomb ;
Curst from the cradle, and brought up to years
With cares and fears ;
Who, then, to frail mortality shall trust,
But limns the water, or but writes in dust.

'Yet, since with sorrow here we live oppress,
What life is best ?
Courts are but only superficial schools,
To dandle fools :
The rural parts are turn'd into a den
Of savage men :
And where 's a city from all vice so free
But may be term'd the worst of all the three ?

'Domestic cares afflict the husband's bed,
Or pains his head.
Those that live single, take it for a curse
Or do things worse.
Some would have children ; those that have them moan,
Or with them gone.
What is it, then, to have or have no wife,
But single thraldom, or a double strife ?

'Our own affections still at home to please,
Is a disease ;
To cross the sea to any foreign soil,
Peril and toil.
Wars with their noise affright us ; when they cease,
We 're worse in peace.
What then remains, but that we still should cry
Not to be born, or, being born, to die ? '

Whatever may be thought of these somewhat melancholy verses, everybody must admit that they show Bacon had considerable facility in writing verses correct both in rhythm and rhyme.

I claim to have proved in Reason 3 that Bacon was the author of *Venus and Adonis* and of *Lucrece*. These two poems alone are sufficient to stamp him as a poet of the very highest order.

I will now endeavour to show there is reason to believe that Bacon wrote other poems in addition to those mentioned above. Readers of these Notes must form their own conclusions as to the value of the evidence given.

I have stated in the Introduction to these Notes that I believe Bacon was responsible for the production of *England's Helicon*. It has been claimed that he wrote the lyrics in that publication that are signed 'Ignoto.' The following is one of those lyrics, called 'An Invective against Love.'

'All is not gold that shineth bright in show;
Nor every flower so good as fair to sight:
The deepest streams above do calmest flow,
And strongest poisons oft the taste delight:
The pleasant bait doth hide the harmful hook,
And false deceit can lend a friendly look.

'Love is the gold whose outward hue doth pass,
Whose first beginnings goodly promise make
Of pleasures fair and fresh as summer grass,
Which neither sun can parch nor wind can shake;
But when the mould should in the fire be tried,
The gold is gone, the dross doth still abide.

'Beauty the flower so fresh, so fair, so gay,
So sweet to smell, so soft to touch and taste,
As seems it should endure, by right, for aye,
And never be with any storm defaced:
But when the baleful southern wind doth blow,
Gone is the glory which it erst did show.

'Love is the stream whose waves so calmly flow,
As might entice men's minds to wade therein;
Love is the poison mix'd with sugar so,
As might by outward sweetness liking win;
But as the deep o'erflowing stops thy breath,
So poison once received brings certain death.

'Love is the bait whose taste the fish deceives,
And makes them swallow down the choking hook;
Love is the face whose fairness judgment reaves,
And makes thee trust a false and feigned look:
But as the hook the foolish fish doth kill,
So flattering looks the lover's life doth spill.'

These verses are as good as any verses can be. It

cannot be stated definitely that they were written by Bacon, but the very first line recalls the note in Folio 92 of Bacon's Promus :—

'All is not gold that glisters.'

The metre is the same as that of *Venus and Adonis*. There is not much in this, for this particular metre was a favourite one at the time. The subject is the folly of and the disaster caused by love, and is a poetical echo of the results of love as stated in Bacon's 'Essay of Love.' Compare these verses with the prophecy of Venus as to the results of love in *Venus and Adonis*, lines 1135 to 1164, and see how they agree both in substance and style. Notice the frequent use of similes, which is so characteristic of Bacon's writings. Notice also the term 'baleful southern wind.' The use of the adjective 'baleful' as applied to the southern wind would appear wrong to most people who live in England. We should consider some such word as 'favourable' more appropriate ; for we look upon the southern wind as mild and pleasant, and not as likely to bring about any calamity or sorrow. But Bacon took a different, and, I think, a more unusual view. In his *Natural History of Winds, etc.*, he says :—

'In *Africk* it is pretty heathful, but with us, if the south wind last long with fair weather, and without rain, it is very Pestilent.'

There are several short poems in *England's Helicon* signed 'Ignoto,' and I suppose it is safe to assume that all that are signed 'Ignoto' were written by the same man. Other persons besides Bacon have been suggested as being Ignoto, among them Richard Barnfield and Sir Walter Raleigh. Space will not allow me to enter fully into this question, so I will only say that I consider the claims made on behalf of Barnfield and Sir Walter Raleigh are not so strong as that made on behalf of Bacon. Barnfield was not a concealed poet, and there was no reason why he should write under a *nom de plume*. The case for Raleigh is even weaker. There are seven sonnets prefixed to Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, of which the two first are signed 'W. R.' and the last 'Ignoto.' 'W. R.' is, I

believe, admitted to be Sir Walter Raleigh. The sonnet of Ignoto is :—

'To looke upon a worke of rare devise
The which a workman setteth out to view,
And not to yield it the deserved prise
That unto such a workmanship is dew,
Doth either prove the judgement to be naught,
Or els doth shew a mind with envy fraught.

'To labour to commend a peece of worke
Which no man goes about to discommend,
Would raise a jealous doubt, that there did lurke
Some secret doubt whereto the prayse did tend :
For when men know the goodnes of the wyne,
'Tis needless for the Hoast to have a sygne.

'Thus then, to shew my judgement to be such
As can discerne of colours blacke and white,
As alls to free my minde from envies tuch,
That never gives to any man his right ;
I here pronounce this workmanship is such
As that no pen can set it forth too much.

'And thus I hang a garland at the dore ;
(Not for to shew the goodness of the ware ;
But such hath beene the custome heretofore,
And customes very hardly broken are ;)
And when your tast shall tell you this is trew,
Then looke you give your Hoast his utmost dew.'

The eleventh and twelfth lines of the above are an echo of Bacon's Promus note : 'Good wine needs no bush,' and I may remark, incidentally, that they show the writer was aware of the origin of the proverb.

Now, Raleigh would not have written three sonnets as a prefix to the *Faerie Queene*, and signed two of them with his initials and the third with a pseudonym. To my mind this quite destroys the claim made on his behalf.

W. H. Burr in *Bacon and Shakspere*, says that on the anniversary of Elizabeth's coronation in November 1590—

'Sir Henry Lea, the Queen's champion and master of the armory, who had conducted the exercises from the beginning, appeared for the last time, and, after the customary performances, resigned his office to the Earl of Cumberland, whereupon the celebrated vocalist, Mr. Hales, a servant of her Majesty,

pronounced and sung the following verses, personating the aged man-at-arms :—

' My golden locks hath time to silver turned
(O Time too swift, and swiftness never ceasing !)
My youth 'gainst age, and age at youth hath spurned,
But spurned in vain : youth waneth by increasing.
Beauty and strength, and youth flowers fading been,
Duty, faith, love, are roots and ever green.

' My helmet now shall make a hive of bees,
And lovers' songs shall turn to holy psalms ;
A man-at-arms must now stand on his knees,
And feed on prayers that are old age's alms.
And so from court to cottage I depart ;
My saint is sure of my unspotted heart.

' And when I sadly sit in lonely cell,
I 'll teach my swains this carol for a song :
" Blest be the hearts that wish my Sovereign well,
Curst be the souls that think to do her wrong."
Goddess ! vouchsafe this aged man his right,
To be your beadsman now that was your knight.'

These verses are entitled ' The Retired Courtier ' and appeared anonymously, and with the pronouns changed from the first to the third person, in Dowland's *First Book of Songs*, published in 1600.

Mrs. Henry Pott in her book on the Promus has considered the authorship of these verses. Any one who reads her book and considers the numerous references she gives in Appendix D will, I feel certain, agree that she makes out a very strong case for the authorship of Bacon.

In the one satire that forms Book VI. of Hall's *Virgidemiarum*, that is the 3rd Book of his *Byting Satires*, which contains a long reference to Labeo (*i.e.* as I claim to have shown to Francis Bacon) is the following :—

' Lastly he names the spirit of Astrophel ;
Now hath not Labeo done wondrous well ?
But ere his Muse her weapon learn to weild,
Or dance a sober Pirrhicke in the field,
Or marching wade in blood up to the knees,
Her *Arma Virum* goes by two degrees.
The sheepe-cote first hath beene her nursery,
Where she hath worne her idle infancy ;
And, in high startups, walk'd the postur'd plains,
To tend her tasked herd that there remaines ;

And winded still a pipe of oate or brere,
Striving for wages who the praise shall beare ;
As did whilere the homely Carmelite,
Following Virgil, and he Theocrite ;
Or else hath beene in Venus' chamber train'd
To play with Cupid, till she had attained
To comment well upon a beauteous face,
Then was she fit for an heroick place.'

As Hall said that Labeo, that is as I claim, Bacon, had named ' the spirit of Astrophel,' it is possible that if this poem still exists it is to be found among the elegies written to the memory of Sir Philip Sidney.

Edmund Spenser's works are printed in the ' British Poets,' published by the Chiswick Press in 1822, and in volume vii. are seven short poems on Sidney. The first is entitled ' Astrophel, a Pastorall Elegie ' and was written by Spenser. The second is entitled ' The Dolefull Lay of Clorinda,' and is believed to have been written by Sidney's sister, Mary, Countess of Pembroke. It commences at page 78, and at the foot of the page is the following note :—

' All the subsequent poems on the death of Sir Philip are evidently a collection brought together by Spenser.'

The third is entitled ' The Mourning Muse of Thestylis,' and is stated to have been written by Lodowick Bryskett, a friend of Spenser. The fourth is entitled ' A Pastorall Aeglogue upon the Death of Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight, etc.,' and is stated to have been also written by Lodowick Bryskett. The fifth is entitled ' An Elegie or Friends Passion, For Astrophill,' and was written by Matthew Roydon. The sixth is entitled ' An Epitaph upon the Right Honourable Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight : Lord Governor of Flushing.' The seventh, which continues straight on after the ' Epitaph,' is headed ' Another of the Same.' From the manner in which they are printed one is led to conclude that the sixth and seventh poems were written by the same person. There is a note on page 100 as to them :—

' The author of these epitaphs is not known.'

Now it is evident that if the missing verses of Labeo

are to be found among the collection made by Spenser they must be one or both of the epitaphs last mentioned ; for the authorship of all the others is known, but the authorship of these two is unknown. It is therefore advisable to read these two short poems carefully. They are too long to be set out here.

The first thing that strikes one in the first of these epitaphs is that it is essentially Shakespearian : perhaps I ought to say it is essentially Labeonian or Baconian. Each stanza consists of four lines of ten feet each and corresponds with the first four lines in the stanzas of *Venus and Adonis*, except that the first and the fourth lines rhyme and the second and the third lines rhyme. The rhythm is the same.

The next point to be noticed is the excessive use of the triple antithesis, which is so marked a feature in Bacon's writings. There are only fifteen stanzas in the poem, and the triple antithesis is found in nine of them.

The second epitaph does not strike one as being so Shakespearian as the first. No doubt this is owing to the metre. Each stanza consists of four lines. The first and the third contain twelve feet, and the second and the fourth fourteen feet. The first and the second lines rhyme, and the third and the fourth lines rhyme. This is not like anything to be found in either the Shakespeare plays or the Shakespeare poems. On the other hand, it is even more Baconian than the first epitaph. The triple antithesis is found in nearly every line. Thoughts are expressed in short, pithy sentences, as they are in Bacon's *Essays*. Take as examples :—

> ' Silence augmenteth grief, writing encreaseth rage.'
> ' Hard hearted mindes relent.'
> ' Knowledge her light hath lost.'
> ' Place pensive wailes his fall.'

The fifth stanza begins :—

> ' He, only like himself, was second to none.'

I point out in these Notes that the likening of a man to himself is characteristic of Bacon's writing.

The author of the verses was a great admirer and personal friend of Sidney. He says :—

> ' Sidney is dead, dead is my friend.'
> ' He was (wo worth that word !) to ech well thinking mind
> A spotless friend.'

Bacon was an admirer and friend of Sidney.

It seems to me probable that Bacon wrote both these epitaphs, and that they were the writings Hall was referring to when he said that Labeo had named ' the spirit of Astrophel.'

Hall says that Labeo's Muse went by two degrees, the first of which was the writing of pastoral poetry. It was suggested by Walter Begley, in *Bacon's Nova Resuscitatio*, that this pastoral poetry was to be found in Immerito's share in *The Shepheard's Calender*. I do not know what part of this poem he was referring to, and I think there can be no doubt that Immerito was a *nom de plume* of Spenser himself. The name appears at the end of some verses prefixed to *The Shepheard's Calender*, but I can see nothing Baconian in these verses. I know of nothing that shows, or even tends to show, that Spenser was not responsible for the whole of *The Shepheard's Calender*, except possibly in the Fourth Æglogue, where after Hobbinoll (*i.e.* Gabriel Harvey) has recited Colin's (*i.e.* Spenser's) verses in praise of Queen Elizabeth, Thenot asks : ' And was thilk same song of Colins own making ? ' The question is left unanswered. I can see nothing in these verses in praise of Elizabeth that in any way points to Bacon, nor can I see anything in *The Shepheard's Calender* that corresponds to Hall's description of Labeo's pastoral poetry. I do not think that Walter Begley's suggestion will hold, and up to the present time I have failed to identify any separate piece of pastoral poetry that can with any confidence be attributed to Labeo. However, I make a tentative suggestion as to this later on.

The search for the second degree of Labeo's Muse has, I think, been more successful.

Hall says that Labeo's Muse had been trained in Venus' Chamber, had played with Cupid, and had become

capable of commenting well on a beauteous face. I feel fairly certain that he was referring to *Brittain's Ida*. This poem will be found at the end of volume vii. of Spenser's works in the before-mentioned edition of the 'British Poets.' It was first published in 1628 by Thomas Walkley with a Dedication to 'The Right Noble Lady, Mary, Daughter of the Most Illustrious Prince, George, Duke of Buckingham' :—

> 'Most noble Lady! I have presumed to present this Poem to your honourable hand, encouraged onely by the worth of the famous Author, (for I am certainly assured by the ablest and most knowing men, that it must be a worke of *Spencers*, of whom it were pitty that any thing should bee lost,) and doubting not but your Ladyship will graciously accept, though from a meane hand, this humble present, since the man that offers it is a true honourer and observer of your selfe and your princely family, and shall ever remaine
>
> The humblest of your devoted servants
>
> THOMAS WALKLEY.'

There is a note as to this at page 223 of the 'British Poets' :—

> '"The printer's assertion," says Mr. Todd, "is the only authority on which this Poem has been admitted into the edition of Spenser's Works, since its first publication in 1628. The critics agree in believing that it was not written by Spenser. It is rather remarkable also that the poem, if it had been Spenser's, should have been unknown to the editor of his Works in 1611, whom I believe to be Gabriel Harvey, his particular friend."'

Professor Craik in his *History of English Literature*, says :—

> 'As to the poem called *Britain's Ida*, . . . it is certainly not by Spenser.'

The first thing that strikes one on reading *Brittain's Ida* is its remarkable similarity with the poems of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. Each stanza consists of seven lines of ten feet each and an eighth of twelve feet. The first and third lines rhyme, the second, fourth, and fifth lines rhyme, and the sixth, seventh, and eighth lines rhyme. The first seven lines are exactly like the seven lines of the stanzas in *Lucrece* in metre, rhythm, and rhyme. It is, as it were, a counterpart of *Venus and*

Adonis. In *Venus and Adonis* Venus makes love to Adonis and her advances are rejected, in *Brittain's Ida* Anchises makes love to Venus and his advances are accepted. It is the sort of counterpart poem that the author of *Venus and Adonis* might be expected to have written.

The poem opens with ' Ida vale ' where ' an hundred shepheards wonn'd while their faire flockes ' feed on the ' three-leaved pastures.' Among the shepheards is Anchises, whose ' nimph-like face nere felt the nimble sheeres.' His ' high forehead,' his ' auburne locks,' his ' smiling eyes,' his ' lilly-cheeke,' his ' cheerful looks,' and his ' merry face,' are then described. A ' thousand maidens dy'de ' for him ; but he cares not for love, nor ' musique sweet,' nor ' dainty songs.' Like Adonis he loves only the hunting of the ' nible hart,' the ' tusked boare,' and the ' savage beare.'

One day, tired and faint with hunting the deer, he enters ' Faire Venus Grove ' for rest, and walks about in the ' cooling glade.' The sylvan scenery of the Grove of Venus is then described. From a bower close by he hears ' dainty musique ' flowing, and then the voice of Venus singing a love song.

He approaches the bower and sees Venus ' stretched on a lilly-bed.' The beauteous face of Venus is then described in detail : ' her spacious fore-head, like the clearest moone,' ' her golden haire,' ' her full large eye,' ' her silver cheeke,' ' her lips,' and ' her chin.' The ' goodly frame ' of this beauteous face stands on the pillar of ' her round necke.' The remaining description of the beauty of Venus had best be read in the poem itself.

Anchises is so overcome with her beauty that he falls down in a faint. ' Soft-sleeping Venus,' hearing his fall, ' the sinking boy espies.' She thinks at first he must be her dead Adonis. ' Stepping nearer,' she raises him up, and her touch revives him. She asks him what ' erring chance ' had directed his ' unwary pace ' to this ' hidden place.' He explains that ' lucklesse chance ' and ' no presumptuous thoughts ' had moved his ' daring feete ' to her ' holy grove.' Venus pardons him, admits him to

her service, ' and, like another Love, with bow and quiver fits him.' He becomes the playmate of ' all the Loves ' and of ' Cupids selfe.' He is trained by Cupid in the arts of Love. The remainder of the poem is a continuation of the well-known story of Venus and Anchises with certain details that I cannot very well give.

All this agrees in every way with Hall's description. We have the training in Venus' chamber, the playing with Cupid, and the commentating upon a beauteous face, or rather, the commentating upon two beauteous faces.

One of the charms in the versification of *Venus and Adonis* and of *Lucrece* is the way in which from time to time the lines of ten feet are expanded into lines of eleven feet, the emphasis and the emphasised part of the rhyme still remaining on the tenth or penultimate foot. Exactly the same thing is done in *Brittain's Ida*. I cannot help thinking that the same man wrote *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, and *Brittain's Ida*, and that that man was Francis Bacon. There are several things in the poem that point to him.

There is the frequent use of the triple antithesis which is so common in Bacon's writings, and the frequent use of compound adjectives which is so marked a feature in *Venus and Adonis* and in *Lucrece*.

There is the frequent use of similes which is so characteristic of Bacon.

The word ' fond ' is used with the meaning of ' foolish,' as it is in *Venus and Adonis* and in Bacon's *Essays*.

The word ' limb'd ' is used with the meaning of ' drawn ' or ' delineated,' as it is in *All the World's a Bubble*.

The word ' annoy ' is used as a noun, as it is in *Venus and Adonis*, and in the Shakespeare plays.

The word ' babbling ' is used with the meaning of ' letting out a secret,' and in Bacon's *Essays* a ' babbler ' is a term used for a man who lets out a secret.

The word ' aspect ' is used with the accent on the last syllable, as it is in the Shakespeare plays.

The word ' curious ' is used with the meaning of ' highly finished ' or ' done with extreme niceness or accuracy,' as it is in Bacon's *Essays*.

The poem speaks about Nature and Art being in unity, Art helping Nature and Nature helping Art, and says that Nature is perfected by Art and that Art is limited by Nature. I mention Bacon's views about Nature and Art in Reason 8 of these Notes, and do not wish to repeat myself; so I will only say here that the expressions in the poem agree with Bacon's expressed views.

In *Venus and Adonis* Venus describes the complexion of a lover's mistress lying in bed as 'teaching the sheets a whiter hue than white.' In *Brittain's Ida* Venus is described as 'stretcht on a lilly-bed (a bright foyle of a beauty farre more bright),' and her skin as 'much more than lilly-white.'

In *Brittain's Ida* the bed on which Venus lay 'sanke with delight so to be pressed.' In *Lucrece* the pillow on which Lucrece's head lay seemed 'to part in sunder, swelling on either side to want his bliss.'

In the initial letters of the first three lines of one of the stanzas in *Brittain's Ida* we find FRA, B in a similar manner to which we get FRA, B in the first two lines of *Lucrece*.

Hall's remarks about Labeo's Muse marching 'in blood up to the knees' and becoming 'fit for an heroick place' refer, I suggest, to such plays as *Titus Andronicus*, and the Shakespeare tragedies and historical plays. His remark about walking 'the pastur'd plains in high startups' refers, I think, to Bacon's grandiloquent style of writing.

The tentative suggestion that I have mentioned above is this:—

The first two cantos of *Brittain's Ida* contain poetry of a pastoral nature. They treat of shepherds, flocks, pastures, hunting, glades, mountains, hills, groves, trembling leaves, the cooling glade, Paphian myrtles, sweet laurels, woods, echoes, thick-locked boughs, the scattered rays of the tell-tale sun, the sweet labyrinth of the Garden of Delight, painted flowers, roses red and white spreading their fair blossoms to the light, and so on. In one place the writer of the poem likens himself to a shepherd.

May it not be that this is the pastoral poetry that Hall said was the first degree of Labeo's Muse, and may it not be that he was referring to *Brittain's Ida* only, and that this poem formed the two degrees through which Labeo's Muse passed ?

For those who are not acquainted with *Brittain's Ida* I give the following two stanzas from Canto II., so that they may see what kind of writing it is :—

> ' Fond Men ! whose wretched care the life soone ending,
> By striving to increase your joy, do spend it ;
> And, spending joy, yet find no joy in spending ;
> You hurt your life by striving to amend it ;
> And, seeking to prolong it, soonest end it :
> Then, while fit time affords thee time and leasure,
> Enjoy while yet thou mayst thy lifes sweet pleasure :
> Too foolish is the man that starves to feed his treasure.
>
> ' Love is lifes end ; (an end, but never ending ;)
> All joyes, all sweets, all happinesse, awarding ;
> Love is life's wealth (nere spent, but ever spending,)
> More rich by giving, taking by discarding ;
> Love's lifes reward, rewarded in rewarding :
> Then from thy wretched heart fond care remove ;
> Ah ! shouldst thou live but once loves sweets to proove,
> Thou wilt not love to live, unlesse thou live to love.'

If Francis Bacon wrote the verses signed Ignoto, the verses on ' The Retired Courtier,' the two epitaphs on Sir Philip Sidney, and the poem of *Brittain's Ida*, or any of them—as I think it is most probable that he did—then these poems provide an additional answer to those who, judging only from his versification of the Psalms, say he was not capable of writing the poetical parts of the Shakespeare plays.

REASON 6

The frequent revision of the plays is not consistent with the view that they were written only to be acted on the stage and not to be read in the study. This frequent revision is characteristic of Bacon. The final revision for the purpose of publication in the First Folio, the publication in that edition of three plays that were probably new, and the addition of thousands of new lines to plays that had been previously published, show that the person responsible for the finished plays was living in 1623.

In considering the First Folio of 1623 the following points, amongst others, should be noticed.

1. It was printed by Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount. The Jaggards had already printed four editions of Bacon's *Essays*.

2. The Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Montgomery, to whom the publication was dedicated, were personal friends of Francis Bacon, but they and Shaksper of Stratford were strangers to each other.

Sir Sidney Lee [1] says that Shaksper of Stratford was not a friend of Pembroke, and that ' only two scraps of evidence with any title of consideration have been adduced to show that Shakespeare [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford] was at any time or in any way associated with Pembroke.'

The first scrap of evidence is that in 1603, when James I. and his Court were at Wilton House, the King's company of players, of which Shaksper of Stratford was a member, gave a performance before the King by order of the royal household. Sir Sidney Lee adds : ' There is no positive evidence that Shakespeare [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford] attended at Wilton with the company, but assuming, as is probable, that he did, the Earl of Pembroke can be held no more responsible for his presence than for his

[1] *Life of Shakespeare.*

repeated presence under the same conditions at Whitehall.'

The second scrap of evidence is the dedication of the First Folio to Pembroke and Montgomery in 1623, seven years after Shaksper of Stratford's death. This, says Sir Sidney Lee,[1] ' proves no private sort of friendship between them and the dead author.'

There is nothing to show that the Earl of Montgomery and Shaksper of Stratford were ever acquainted with each other in any way. The suggestion of a friendship having existed in the times of Elizabeth and James between two leading peers and a low-born actor seems to me absurd.

It has been stated over and over again, and apparently taken for granted, that the Earl of Southampton was the patron of Shaksper of Stratford. Sir Sidney Lee [2] states it, and Halliwell-Phillipps [3] refers to Southampton as ' the poet's distinguished friend.' Nobody appears to have doubted this statement but, as far as I know, there is nothing to prove it.

The poems of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* were dedicated to Southampton ; but to base any argument on this is to beg the question. It does not prove any patronage unless the author of the poems was Shaksper of Stratford, which I think I have shown clearly was not the case. There is a tradition, raked up by Rowe in 1709, ' that my Lord Southampton at one time gave him [Shaksper of Stratford] a thousand pounds to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to.' Halliwell-Phillipps considers that, if the anecdote is based on truth, the gift was made on the occasion of the purchase of New Place in 1597.

As Shaksper of Stratford only paid £60 for the purchase of New Place, the gift of one thousand pounds ' to enable him to go through with ' this acquisition is out of all proportion to the amount required. Moreover, according to Sir Sidney Lee,[4] Shaksper of Stratford was by this time quite well enough off to make the purchase out of

[1] *Life of Shakespeare*, Appendix vii.
[2] *Life of Shakespeare*.
[3] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*.
[4] *Life of Shakespeare*.

his own resources and, according to G. C. Bompas,[1] Southampton was not then in such a financial position as would enable him to make a present of so large a sum as one thousand pounds to anybody. He says that Southampton had been committed to prison on account of his secret marriage with one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, and that he was already ruined by his extravagance and had joined the Paris Embassy in order to retrieve his position. If Shaksper of Stratford received any money in 1597 it is more likely to have been by way of payment for allowing his name to appear on *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Richard II.*, in 1598. *Richard II.* was published anonymously in 1597. The Queen did not like it, and next year it was published again under the name of William Shake-speare. The person who was supposed to be the author of *Richard II.* might run some risk, and would require some remuneration for taking that risk. The title page of the Second Quarto edition of 1598 was identical with that of the First Quarto edition of 1597, except that the play was stated to have been written by William Shake-speare. This looks as though the main object of publishing the Second Quarto was to insert the name of an author and fasten the play on to the name of a person who, as I have stated before, was non-existent. As I have said, I feel certain that if such a name as Shake-speare were to appear on a publication at the present time it would be 'spotted' at once as a *nom de plume*.

I am not aware that there is any evidence to show that Southampton was ever the patron of Shaksper of Stratford, or ever knew him; but my point is this. Southampton was alive in 1623. If he had been the lifelong patron of the deceased author, why was not the First Folio dedicated to him rather than to two men who were absolute strangers?

But there was a reason, in addition to that of ordinary friendship, why Bacon should dedicate the First Folio to the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Montgomery. He was a fellow-member with them in the Virginia Company. In 1609 the Company sent out an expedition

[1] *The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays.*

to the West Indies. The fleet encountered severe gales, and one ship was wrecked on the Bermudas. As I have stated previously, the play of *The Tempest* appeared shortly afterwards and was clearly suggested by the expedition of the Company. For some reason best known to the editor of the First Folio this play was placed first in the series of plays, so it was most appropriate that the publication should be dedicated to the two Earls.

The circumstances of the dedication tend to show, not only that Southampton was not the patron of Shaksper of Stratford, but that Shaksper of Stratford was not the author of the Shakespeare plays.

3. Droeshout's so-called portrait at the beginning of the First Folio is not a portrait at all. It is an effigy made up of a diminutive body with two left arms, an enormous mask, and an impossible collar. We know that Ben Jonson was a good judge of and an enthusiast on pictorial art from his articles ' Poesis et picturae ' and ' De Pictura ' in his *Discoveries*. He was fully aware of the peculiarities of Droeshout's print ; for in his *Verses to the Reader* referring to it, he does not call it a portrait, he calls it a ' Figure.'

The Droeshout print shows without doubt that the First Folio was not what it is generally supposed to be, namely, a *bona fide* collection of the works of Shaksper of Stratford gathered together by Heminge and Condell. With such a print at the beginning of the book the verses of Ben Jonson, Hugh Holland, L. Digges, and I. M. cannot be regarded as evidence that Shaksper of Stratford was the author of the plays comprised in the publication ; they refer to William Shakespeare, the person responsible for the plays who had written under a *nom de plume*, and not to Shaksper of Stratford personally. As I have stated, there is no satisfactory evidence that such a person as William Shakespeare or William Shake-speare ever existed in the time of Elizabeth or James.

The subject of the Droeshout print and Ben Jonson's verses referring to it is of a cryptographic nature, so I have postponed its further consideration to Part II. of these Notes.

4. Ben Jonson, who took a prominent part in the publication of the First Folio, was at the time of its publication working with Bacon, and helping him to translate his acknowledged works into Latin.

5. The address, 'To the great variety of Readers,' is signed by Heminge and Condell. They were both actors connected with the company of which Shaksper of Stratford was a member, and Heminge appears to have also been a grocer. Neither of them was a literary man such as could have undertaken the responsibility of editing a publication like the First Folio. The editors of the Cambridge Edition of the plays suggest that this address 'May have been written by some literary man in the employment of the publishers and merely signed by the two players.' Walter Begley [1] points out that the address has 'strong internal indications of a well-read Latinist and good classical scholar, which seem to point beyond these ordinary players.' Edwin Reed [2] says :—

> 'In the dedication of the book they [*i.e.* Heminge and Condell] characterize the plays with singular, not to say suspicious, infelicity as "trifles." They astonish us still more by the use they make of Pliny's epistle to Vespasian, prefixed to his *Natural History*. Not only are the thoughts of the Latin author most happily introduced, but they are amplified and fitted to the purpose with consummate literary skill.'

I think it is now admitted that Ben Jonson most probably wrote the address, and that Heminge and Condell merely signed it or allowed their names to appear at the end.

If this address is to be taken as a correct statement of facts, then all the Quarto editions of the plays were 'stolen,' 'surreptitious,' and 'imperfect' and all those published in the First Folio were printed from the author's manuscript (a statement which is known not to be true), and Shaksper of Stratford's 'mind and hand went together : And what he thought, he uttered with such easinesse, that wee [*i.e.* Heminge and Condell] have scarce received from him a blot in his papers' (a statement which is a palpable falsehood, unless they mean to hint

[1] *Is it Shakespeare?* [2] *Bacon* v. *Shakespeare.*

that they never received any of his papers at all). But in writing this latter sentence may not Jonson have had Bacon in his mind? Osborne says of Bacon: 'I have been told his first or foulest copies required no great labour to render them competent for the nicest authorities.'

6. The first lines of Ben Jonson's verses 'To the Memory of my beloved the author' are :—

> 'To draw no envy (Shakespeare) on thy name,
> Am I thus ample to thy Booke, and Fame.'

The feeling of envy may exist against the living, but it cannot exist against the dead. That this was Ben Jonson's view is shown by the words he puts into the mouth of Ovid Junior, that is Francis Bacon, as I have shown previously, in Act I. Scene i. of *The Poetaster* :—

> 'Envy the living, not the dead, doth bite.'

This, I think, tends to show that the person responsible for the plays was living when the First Folio was published.

A few lines further on we have :—

> 'Or Crafty Malice, might pretend this praise,
> And think to ruine, where it seemed to raise.'

This suggestion of Crafty Malice pretending to praise but intentionally ruining the object of that praise would have no meaning if applied to Shaksper of Stratford, but it would have a rational meaning if applied to Bacon, whose hope of returning to favour would have been ruined if it had become known that he was a play-writer.

Then there are the lines about 'insolent Greece and haughty Rome' and the lines about 'shaking a lance in the eyes of ignorance' that have been previously mentioned.

I believe that both Jonson and Digges knew what they were about when they said in their verses, 'Thou art a monument without a tombe, and art alive still,' and 'Nor shall I e'er believe or think thee dead,' although, possibly with the object of not making their meaning too clear, they added other words to throw dust in the reader's eyes and lead him off the scent.

Leonard Digges also wrote some other verses which are believed to have been originally intended for the First Folio. They are as follows :—

> ' Next Nature only helped him, for look through
> His whole book, you shall find he doth not borrow
> One phrase from Greeks, nor Latins imitate,
> Nor once from vulgar languages translate,
> Nor plagiary like from others glean,
> Nor begs he from each witty friend a scene
> To piece his acts with ; all that he doth write
> Is pure his own ; plot, language exquisite.'

It would appear that Digges had been instructed to write some misleading verses, had taken his instructions too literally, and had gone too far. They were so absolutely untrue in every statement that if they had been printed in the First Folio they would have been noticed at once and the whole fraud discovered ; consequently they were discarded and he was, apparently, asked to write something else. His second effort was :—

> ' Shake-speare, at length thy pious fellows giue
> The world thy Workes : thy Workes, by which out liue
> Thy Tombe thy name must, when that stone is rent ;
> And Time dissolues thy Stratford Moniment,
> Here we aliue shall view thee still. . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Nor shall I e're beleeue, or thinke thee dead
> (Though mist) vntill our bankrout Stage be sped,' &c.

Although the discarded verses are not in the First Folio this makes very little difference. They are written by the same man who wrote the accepted verses, they refer to the same subject, and they can be read just as if they were incorporated in the First Folio. They throw light on the prefatory matter of the publication, and show that the whole of it was intended to mislead the reader. Leonard Digges was by no means a nonentity ; he was known as a wit. His discarded verses cannot have been written *bona fide*, and they cannot have expressed his genuine opinion about the author of the Shakespeare plays. He must have known that every one of his statements was untrue.

A Shaksperian friend once said to me that the fact that

Ben Jonson in his verses in the First Folio had alluded to the author of the Shakespeare plays as the Swan of Avon was one of the strongest arguments they had, and that it was one that the Baconians admitted they were unable to answer.

I for one do not make this admission. On the contrary, I have no hesitation in stating that although Ben Jonson alluded to Shaksper of Stratford as the Swan of Avon, he did not allude to the author of the plays as the Swan of Avon.

I give my reasons for making this statement.

Bacon in *De Augmentis*, Book II. chapter vii., speaking of the allegory at the beginning of the Thirty-fifth Book of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, says :—

> ' He (*i.e.* Ariosto) feigns that at the end of the thread of every man's life, there hangs a little medal or collar (monile) on which his name is stamped ; and that Time waits upon the shears of Atropos, and as soon as the thread is cut, snatches the medals, carries them off, and presently throws them into the river Lethe ; and about the river there are many birds flying up and down, who catch the medals, and after carrying them round and round in their beak a little while, let them fall into the river ; only there are some swans which if they get a medal with a name, immediately carry it off to a temple consecrated to immortality.'

The allegory is a pretty one, and I take its meaning to be that most people are forgotten soon after their death, that the fame of some is preserved for a short time by the ordinary birds and then falls into oblivion, but the fame of the great geniuses is preserved by the swans, who rescue these geniuses from forgetfulness and give them immortality.

What Ben Jonson means in his verses in the First Folio is that Shaksper of Stratford, the Swan of Avon, had flown from London to the Avon with Bacon's medal in his mouth, and that he was the swan who took Bacon's medal to the ' temple consecrated to immortality.' The medal carried away by Shaksper of Stratford had Bacon's name on it, clear enough for those who were able to read it. His verses refer to the Swan of Avon as having taken ' flight upon the Banks of Thames.' All Shaksper of Stratford's acting life was spent ' upon the Banks of

Thames.' Ariosto's swans carried the medals of the geniuses in their beaks. The actors carried the words of the great dramatists in their mouths ; so Jonson was not stretching a point far when he referred to Shaksper of Stratford as one of Ariosto's swans. The swans did not preserve their own immortality, they preserved the immortality of somebody else. The Swan of Avon did not fly away with his own medal, he flew away with Bacon's.

Among John Weever's *Epigrams* is one to Alleyne the actor-manager, as follows :—

> ' In Ed. Allen
> Rome had her Roscius and her Theatre,
> Her Terance, Plautus, Ennius and Meander.
> The first to Allen Phœbus did transfer,
> The next Thames Swans receiv'd fore he could land her.
> Of both more worthy we by Phœbus doome
> Then t' Allen Roscius yield, to London Rome.'

The meaning of this epigram is, I hold, clearly as follows. Rome had her actor (Roscius) and her dramatists (Terance, Plautus, Ennius, and Meander, the latter of which is apparently a misprint for Menander). Apollo transferred the renown of Roscius to Alleyne ; but before he could transfer the renown of Terance, Plautus, Ennius, and Menander to a dramatist in London it was appropriated by the Swan of Thames, *i.e.* by Shaksper of Stratford, the actor of London.

The epigram of John Weever fits in exactly with the view I take with regard to Ben Jonson's Swan of Avon.

The conclusion that must be drawn from all the beforementioned facts is that the whole introductory matter of the First Folio, with its absurd misrepresentation of facts, was intended to mystify and cajole the public.

In the Introduction to the photographic reproduction of the First Folio published by the Clarendon Press in 1902 it is stated that ' Shakespeare [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford] cannot be credited with personal responsibility for the issue of any of the Quarto editions of his plays.' I agree with this statement ; for I am quite certain that he had nothing whatever to do with the composition of the plays, except the additions of the ' Tags ' before mentioned,

which may or may not have been printed in the Quartos and some of which may possibly have been left in the First Folio as a matter of policy. If, however, it is meant by the statement that all the Quarto editions were published surreptitiously, then I cannot agree with it. To ask any one to believe that all the fifty-seven Quartos were pirated is not reasonable; yet there are Shaksperians who make this demand.

It has been stated that William Jaggard, the head of the publishing firm of Jaggards, was 'a well-known pirate publisher'; but this is somewhat of an exaggeration. The firm was one of the chief printers of London and in 1611 William Jaggard was appointed printer to the City of London. In 1613 the Jaggards bought James Roberts' business including the privilege of printing the theatre playbills, which Roberts had held for nearly twenty years by licence from the Stationers' Company. If the Jaggards had been well-known pirates of plays the theatrical companies would not have allowed them to continue printing the playbills, and Heminge and Condell, who were actors, would not have employed them to print the First Folio.

The assumption that all the Quarto editions were published surreptitiously, if it could be sustained, would be an easy way of getting over the difficulty that the frequent revision of the plays presents to the Shaksperians; but I do not think it can be sustained, it is one of the many instances of Shaksperian assertion with no evidence to support it.

The First Folio contained thirty-six plays—*Pericles* was not included—and on considering these thirty-six plays the following three points become prominent:—

1. Six of these plays were published for the first time and, according to Halliwell-Phillipps, had never been heard of before.

2. Fourteen of the plays were also published for the first time, but had previously been known to exist.

3. The remaining sixteen plays had been previously published, but many of them were revised for the purpose of publication in the First Folio.

I will consider these three points in order.

1. Halliwell-Phillipps,[1] speaking of the First Folio, says :—

> ' It is either in this book, or in the entry of it on the registers of the Stationers' Company, that we hear indisputably for the first time of *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Henry the Eighth*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Julius Caesar*, *Timon of Athens*, and *Coriolanus*.'

If his statement is correct, the question then arises : ' Where did these six plays come from ? There is no evidence to show that they were known during the lifetime of Shaksper of Stratford or for seven years after his death.'

The Shaksperians say that they came from the manuscripts of Shaksper of Stratford that were in his possession at the time of his death.

This is a pure assumption. There is not the slightest evidence to show that he possessed any manuscripts at the time of his death. All the evidence we have is of a negative nature. The manuscripts of these six plays would be of value, and Shaksper of Stratford was a man with a keen eye to business. If he had possessed these manuscripts he would certainly have mentioned them in his will ; but he did not mention them in any way whatever. Again, Hall, his son-in-law and residuary legatee, also a business man, never claimed any manuscripts, and as a business man he would have been certain to claim them if there had been any to claim.

On the other hand, Bacon would have had plenty of time between the date of his fall and 1623, during which period he devoted himself to literary work, to produce six plays ; especially if, as I feel certain is the case, three of them at least were not new plays, but revisions of existing ones. *Henslowe's Diary* mentions a play called *The Taming of the Shrew* in 1594, and a play that Henslowe calls *Medicine for a Curste wife*, written by Dekker in 1602. It also mentions a play called *The Rising of Cardinal Wolsey*, written by Drayton, Monday, Chettle, and Wentworth Smyth in 1601, and a play called *Caesars Fall*,

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

written by Monday, Drayton, Webster, Middleton, and others in 1602. J. H. Stotsenburg[1] identifies the work of Dekker in *The Taming of the Shrew* (*i.e.* in the First Folio play of that name) and the work of Drayton in *Henry VIII.* and *Julius Caesar*, so it would seem that these three First Folio plays were revisions of the three plays mentioned by Henslowe. It may be mentioned that when the First Folio was published no licence was obtained for the publication of *The Taming of the Shrew*; which seems to be evidence that it was not a new play.

2. The fourteen plays that were published for the first time in the First Folio, but which had been previously known, were: *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Henry VI.* Part I., *Henry VI.* Part II., *Henry VI.* Part III., *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Cymbeline*, and *King John*.

Here again the question arises: 'Where did these fourteen unpublished plays come from?' Shaksperians say, from the manuscripts in the possession of the theatre managers.

But there is nothing to show that the theatre managers ever possessed any original manuscripts of the Shakespeare plays. The evidence, as in the case of the six new plays, is on the negative side. The majority of the Shakespeare plays are said to have been produced under the management of either Henslowe or Alleyne, and if they had purchased these plays records of the purchases would appear either in *Henslowe's Diary* or in Alleyne's papers; but, as I have stated, the name of Shaksper of Stratford is never mentioned. I think it may be taken that as far as this majority, at least, of the plays is concerned there were no original manuscripts in the possession of the theatre managers. No doubt they possessed playhouse transcripts of some of these fourteen plays; but that is a very different matter to possessing the original manuscripts.

From certain printing oversights, which I need not mention here, I think it is fairly certain that playhouse transcripts were used not only in the preparation of some

[1] *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title.*

of the plays of the First Folio, but also in the preparation of some of the Quartos. I do not agree with the view expressed by Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, mentioned in Part II. of these Notes, that 'there are no misprints or errors in the First Folio.' Parts of it appear to have been edited hastily. Bacon may not have been so careful in the revision of the works of his recreation as he was in the revision of his philosophical writings which he was having translated into Latin. Moreover, as Edwin Reed [1] points out, he was indifferent to details in the publication of even some of his acknowledged works. For example, he permitted the third edition of his *Essays* to go out so disfigured with excessive punctuation that it is a typographical curiosity; it is literally cut into inch pieces with commas. In the first edition of the *Advancement of Learning* appears the word 'dusinesse,' which is an obvious misprint that he did not correct. A subsequent editor considered that the word should have been 'business,' but Spedding by comparing the English with the Latin version found that the word intended was 'dizziness.'

If the plays of the First Folio were taken from playhouse transcripts, this in no way proves the authorship of Shaksper of Stratford; for the actor-managers would have possessed these transcripts whether the person responsible for the plays had been Shaksper of Stratford, Drayton, Dekker, Bacon, or anybody else. Bacon, or Ben Jonson working under his supervision, would, in compiling the First Folio, use the material most easily obtainable, and if the most accessible material happened to be a playhouse transcript he would not have hesitated to use it. It is hardly likely that Bacon had the manuscripts of all the plays at Gorhambury.

3. Sir George Greenwood in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, speaking of the sixteen plays that had been previously published, says that in the First Folio 160 new lines were added to Othello, that 193 new lines were added to *Richard III.* and nearly 2000 lines retouched, that *Hamlet* was 'recast,' that *Romeo and Juliet* was 'rewritten,' that *Henry V.* was 'hardly less than trans-

[1] *Bacon* v. *Shakespeare.*

formed,' and that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was nearly doubled in length.

The Shaksperian contention is that Shaksper of Stratford having written a play sold the manuscript, out and out, to the theatrical company that was going to produce it on the stage, and that when the First Folio was produced these sixteen plays were taken from these manuscripts as revised by Shaksper of Stratford and not from the Quarto editions. If this were so, and if a large portion of the Shakespeare plays were produced by Henslowe, as Halliwell-Phillipps says they were, then his *Diary* would contain records of these transactions ; for he noted down the plays that he bought, the amounts that he paid for them, and the names of the authors who wrote them.

I may point out that the address *To the Great Variety of Readers* in the First Folio shows that the writer of the plays had during his lifetime the right to publish them had he chosen to do so. If this is correct, then he had not sold or parted with his rights to theatrical companies as the Shaksperians contend he had done.

I will now consider the six plays mentioned by Sir George Greenwood, and see how the Shakespearian contention fits in.

Othello—

There was only one Quarto edition of Othello. It was published in 1622 under the name of William Shakespeare.

Shaksper of Stratford died in 1616 ; so he could not possibly have revised any manuscript, whether original manuscript or playhouse transcript, after this date, and it seems strange that the publishers should have waited till 1622 for the publication of a play that could not possibly have been revised by Shaksper of Stratford after 1616. The Stratford man could not have added the 160 new lines that are in the First Folio.

Among the new lines added are the following, in Act III. Scene iii. :—

> ' Like to the Pontic sea,
> Whose icy current and compulsive course
> Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on
> To the Propontic and the Hellespont.'

This was one of Bacon's scientific facts which he referred to in a treatise on *Tides* written about the time of Shaksper of Stratford's death. The above are four out of eight new lines added in the First Folio. There is every reason to believe they were written by Bacon, and they provide presumptive evidence that the remaining 152 new lines were written by him also.

Richard III.—

There were six Quarto editions of this play published previously to the First Folio.

The First Quarto edition was published anonymously in 1597, that is, the title page did not give the name of the author.

The Second Quarto edition was published in 1598, and the title page gives the name of the author as William Shakespeare.

The Third Quarto edition was published in 1602. The title page gives the name of the author as William Shakespeare, and states that the play has been 'newly augmented.'

The Fourth Quarto edition was published in 1605. The title page gives the name of the author as William Shakespeare, and states that the play has again, that is for the second time, been 'newly augmented.'

The Fifth Quarto edition was published in 1612. The title page gives the name of the author as William Shakespeare, and states that the play has again, that is for the third time, been 'newly augmented.'

The Sixth Quarto edition was published in 1622. The title page gives the name of the author as William Shakespeare, and states that the play has again, that is for the fourth time, been 'newly augmented.'

The changes made in these respective editions were unimportant.

There are several printer's errors in the Quarto edition of 1622, and they reappear in the First Folio of 1623. Is not this conclusive proof that the editors of the First Folio worked on the Quarto edition of 1622 and not on any original manuscripts in the possession of the theatrical managers that had been revised by Shaksper of Stratford?

Sir George Greenwood, in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, speaking of the Quarto of 1622 and the First Folio play, says :—

> ' But here we are confronted with a rather curious fact. It appears that there were twelve printer's errors peculiar to the Quarto of 1622, and these reappear in the Folio version of 1623. It follows from this that the editors of the Folio, instead of working on a manuscript, worked on the Quarto of 1622, and somehow omitted to correct the printer's errors of that Quarto. Is not the natural conclusion that " some person unknown " took the Quarto of 1622, revised it, added the new passages, and thus put it into the form in which it appeared in 1623 ? If so Mr. Reed has warrant for his assertion that " the changes in the play, comprising one hundred and ninety-three new lines and nearly two thousand re-touched, were made by the author himself in 1622-3," some seven years after Shakspere's death ! '

If the statements on the title pages of the various Quarto editions are correct, the play was revised first in 1602, for a second time in 1605, for a third time in 1612, and for a fourth time in 1622. The last edition that could possibly have been printed from any manuscript or transcript revised by Shaksper of Stratford is the edition of 1622 and, as in the case of Othello, it seems strange that the publishers should have waited for six years before publishing this revised edition.

The Cambridge editors, speaking of the difference between the texts of the First Quarto and the First Folio, say :—

> ' Passages which in the Quarto are complete and consecutive, are amplified in the Folio, the expanded text being quite in the manner of Shakespeare. The Folio, too, contains passages not in the Quarto, which though not necessary to the sense yet harmonize so well, in sense and tone, with the context that we can have no hesitation in attributing them to the author himself.'

Traces of the work of Drayton, Webster, and Dekker, as well as the work of Bacon, are in the First Folio play of *Richard III.*,[1] and I have no doubt that the finished play was a revision of some older play that had been written in collaboration by Drayton, Webster, and Dekker, or by them and others, and that the final revision, including the 193 new lines and the retouching of the 2000 other lines,

[1] J. H. Stotsenburg, *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title.*

was done by Bacon. When this revision was commenced I do not venture to suggest.

Hamlet—

There were five Quarto editions of Hamlet.

The First Quarto edition was published in 1603, and the title page states that the author is William Shake-speare.

The Second Quarto edition was published in 1604. The title page states that the author is William Shakespeare, and that the play has been ' newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Coppie.'

The Third Quarto edition was published in 1605. The title page differs from that of the Second Quarto in the date only.

The Fourth Quarto edition was published in 1611. The title page is substantially the same as that of the Third Quarto, except in the name of the printer and the date.

The Fifth Quarto edition is undated, but the Cambridge editors are ' convinced ' that it was printed from the Quarto of 1611.

The Cambridge editors have reprinted the first Quarto edition in their edition of the plays. It contains 2154 lines. The First Folio collated play contains 3766 lines. I think that everybody who carefully reads the First Quarto play, the Second Quarto play, and the First Folio play will come to the conclusion that Sir George Greenwood is justified in his statement that *Hamlet* was ' recast.'

A play of *Hamlet* existed for some years previous to 1603, but there is no evidence that it was written by Shakespeare. Some think it was written by Kid. J. H. Stotsenburg, in *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title*, is of opinion that it was written by Michael Drayton and Thomas Dekker, because in the existing play he finds passages very similar to some in their writings. Who the author, or authors, of this earlier play was is immaterial to my present purpose. What is important is the question as to what kind of play was it that was published, possibly in an imperfect form, in the First Quarto of 1603. I think it may be taken to have been founded on the earlier

play, and it may have been a revision of this earlier play. I will mention shortly the opinions of some writers on the First Quarto play.

Halliwell-Phillipps, in his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, says :—

> 'In the spring of this year, 1602, our national tragedy, known originally under the title of the Revenge of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, was in course of representation by the Lord Chamberlain's players at the Globe Theatre, and had then, in all probability, been recently composed. Its popularity led to an unsuccessful attempt by Roberts, a London publisher, to include it amongst his dramatic issues, but it was not printed until the summer of the following year, 1603, when two booksellers, named Ling and Trundell, employed an inferior and clumsy writer to work up, in his own fashion, what scraps of the play had been furtively obtained from shorthand notes or other memoranda into the semblance of a perfect drama, which they had the audacity to publish as Shakespeare's work.'

Dyce, in his edition of the Shakespeare plays, says :—

> 'It seems certain that in the Quarto of 1603 we have Shakespeare's first conception of the play, though with a text mangled and corrupted throughout, and perhaps formed on the notes of some shorthand writer, who had imperfectly taken it down during representation.'

The editors of the Cambridge edition of the plays say :—

> 'The edition of 1603 is obviously a very imperfect reproduction of the play, and there is every reason to believe that it was printed from a manuscript surreptitiously obtained. This manuscript may have been compiled in the first instance from shorthand notes taken during the representation, but there are many errors in the printed text which seem like errors of a copyist rather than of a hearer.'

Later on, speaking of the Second Quarto of 1604, they say :—

> 'He [*i.e.* Shakespeare] may also have changed the order of one or two scenes, and here and there erased or inserted a few lines, but we think that no substantial change was made, and that the chief difference between (Q1) and (Q2) [*i.e.* between the First Quarto and the Second Quarto] are only such as might be expected between a bona fide and a male fide transcription.'

Sir Sidney Lee, in his *Life of William Shakespeare*, says :—

> 'The First Quarto of *Hamlet* was a surreptitious issue. The text is crude and imperfect, and there is little doubt that it was prepared

from shorthand notes taken from the actor's lips during an early performance at the theatre. But the discrepancies between its text and that of more authentic editions of a later date cannot all be assigned to the incompetence of the " copy " from which the printer worked. The numerous divergencies touch points of construction which are beyond the scope of a reporter or a copyist. The transcript followed, however lamely, a draft of the piece which was radically revised before *Hamlet* appeared in print again.'

All the above writers are authorities on the Shakespeare plays, and their opinions must be taken with the greatest respect; but it will be noticed that on one important point these opinions do not agree. The Cambridge editors express the opinion that no substantial change of the text of the First Quarto was made in the Second Quarto, while Sir Sidney Lee thinks that the draft of the piece, that is of the First Quarto play, ' was radically revised before *Hamlet* appeared in print again.' Dyce seems to hint at revision, for he calls the First Quarto ' Shakespeare's first conception of the play.'

On one point all these authorities agree, namely, that the First Quarto was compiled from shorthand notes taken at a performance of the play.

I have great respect for the opinions of these authorities, and it may be that the First Quarto was compiled from shorthand notes taken at a performance. But if it was, I feel certain that the shorthand notes were not taken at a performance of the play that we now have in the Second Quarto and the First Folio, but that the *Hamlet* we now have is the result of revision of the play that was published, possibly in an incomplete manner, in the First Quarto. I will give some examples that to my mind prove this statement.

In the First Quarto Polonius is called Corambis, and Reynaldo is called Montano. No shorthand writer, however incompetent, would have written down Corambis for Polonius, or Montano for Reynaldo.

Again in Scene ix. (the play scene) of the First Quarto a duke and a duchess are introduced. There is no duke and no duchess in the play that we now know as *Hamlet*. A shorthand writer would not have introduced them if they had not appeared on the stage.

In Scene vi. of the First Quarto play Hamlet says :—

'To be, or not to be, I there 's the point,
To die, to sleepe, is that all ? I all :
No, to sleepe, to dreame, I mary there it goes,
For in that dreame of death, when wee awake,
And borne before an euerlasting Judge,
From whence no passenger euer retur'nd,
The vndiscouered country, at whose sight
The happy smile, and the accursed damn'd.
But for this, the ioyfull hope of this,
Whol'd beare the scorns and flattery of the world,
Scorned by the right rich, the rich cursed of the poore ?
The widow being oppressed, the orphan wrong'd,
The taste of hunger, or the tirants raigne,
And thousand more calamities besides,
To grunt and sweate vnder this weary life,
When that he may his full *Quietus* make,
With a bare bodkin, who would this indure,
But for a hope of something after death ?
Which pulses the braine, and doth confound the sence,
Which makes vs rather beare those euilles we haue,
Than flie to others that we know not of.
I that, O this conscience makes cowardes of vs all,
Lady in thy orizons, be all my sinnes remembred.'

The above is addressed to Ophelia. In the Second and subsequent Quartos, and in the First Folio, it is 'recast' into the well-known soliloquy in Act III. Scene i. :—

'To be, or not to be : that is the question :
Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer
The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,
Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
And by opposing end them ? To die : to sleep :
No more ; and, by a sleep, to say we end
The heart-ache, and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to : 'tis a consummation
Devoutly to be wish'd. To die, to sleep ;
To sleep : perchance to dream : ay, there 's the rub ;
For in that sleep of death what dreams may come,
When we have shuffled off this mortal coil,
Must give us pause : there 's the respect
That makes calamity of so long life ;
For who would bear the whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of despis'd love, the law's delay,

The insolence of office and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,
When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin ? who would fardels bear,
To grunt and sweat under a weary life,
But that the dread of something after death,
The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
No traveller returns, puzzles the will
And makes us rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of ?
Thus conscience does make cowards of us all ;
And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment
With this regard their currents turn awry,
And lose the name of action.'

As stated before, I believe that in this soliloquy Bacon was referring to the experiences of his own life. It should be noticed that in the speech as given in the First Quarto edition there are no remarks that can be taken as personal references, they all refer to the troubles of mankind in general.

In Scene ii. of the First Quarto is the following :—

' O that this too much grieu'd and sallied flesh
Would melt to nothing, or that the vniuersall
Globe of heauen would turne to a Chaos !
O God within two moneths : no not two : maried
Mine vncle ! O let me not thinke of it,
My fathers brother : but no more like
My father, than I to *Hercules*.
Within two months, ere yet the salt of most
Vnrighteous teates had left their flushing
In her galled eyes : she married, O God, a beast
Deuoyed of reason would not have made
Such speede : Frailty, thy name is woman,
Why she would hang on him, as if increase
Of appetite had growne by what it looked on.
O wicked wicked speede, to make such
Dexteritie to incestuous sheetes,
Ere yet the shooes were olde,
The which she followed my dead fathers corse
Like *Nyobe*, all teares : married, well it is not,
Nor it cannot come to good :
But break my heart, for I must holde my tongue.'

The corresponding speech in the First Folio is :—

'O, that this too too solid flesh would melt,
Thaw and resolve itself into a dew !
Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
His canon 'gainst self-slaughter ! O God ! God !
How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
Seem to me all the uses of this world !
Fie on 't ! ah fie ! 'tis an unweeded garden,
That grows to seed ; things rank and gross in nature
Possess it merely. That it should come to this !
But two months dead ! nay, not so much, not two :
So excellent a king ; that was, to this,
Hyperion to a satyr : so loving to my mother,
That he might not beteem the winds of heaven
Visit her face too roughly. Heaven and earth !
Must I remember ? why, she would hang on him,
As if increase of appetite had grown
By what it fed on : and yet, within a month,—
Let me not think on 't—Frailty, thy name is woman !—
A little month, or ere those shoes were old
With which she follow'd my poor father's body,
Like Niobe, all tears ;—why she, even she,—
O God ! a beast, that wants discourse of reason,
Would have mourn'd longer,—married with my uncle,
My father's brother, but no more like my father
Than I to Hercules : within a month ;
Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears
Had left the flushing in her gallèd eyes,
She married. O, most wicked speed, to post
With such dexterity to incestuous sheets !
It is not, nor it cannot come to good :
But break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue ! '

In Scene xi. of the First Quarto the speech of Hamlet to his mother is as follows :—

'Why this I meane, see here, behold this picture
It is the portraiture, of your deceased husband,
See here a face, to outface *Mars* himselfe,
An eye, at which his foes did tremble at,
A front wherein all vertues are set downe
For to adorne a king, and guild his crowne,
Whose heart went hand in hand euen with that vow,
He made to you in marriage, and he is dead.
Murdred, damnably murdred, this was your husband,
Looke you now, here is your husband,
With a face like *Vulcan*.

A looke fit for a murder and a rape,
A dull dead hanging looke, and a hell-bred eie,
To affright children and amaze the world :
And this same haue you left to change with this.
What Diuell thus hath cosoned you at hob-man blinds ?
A ! haue you eyes and can you looke on him
That slew my father, and your deere husband,
To liue in the incestuous pleasure of his bed ? '

The corresponding speech in Act III. Scene iv. of the First Folio play is as follows :—

' Look here, upon this picture, and on this,
The counterfeit presentment of two brothers.
See what a grace was seated on this brow ;
Hyperion's curls, the front of Jove himself,
An eye like Mars, to threaten and command ;
A station like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill ;
A combination, and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal
To give the world assurance of a man :
This was your husband. Look you now, what follows :
Here is your husband ; like a mildew'd ear,
Blasting his wholesome brother. Have you eyes ?
Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed,
And batten on this moor ? Ha ! have you eyes ?
You cannot call it love, for at your age
The hey-day in the blood is tame, it 's humble,
And waits upon the judgment : and what judgment
Would step from this to this ? Sense sure you have,
Else could you not have motion : but sure that sense
Is apoplex'd : for madness would not err,
Nor sense to ecstasy was ne'er so thrall'd
But it reserv'd some quantity of choice,
To serve in such a difference. What devil was 't
That thus hath cozen'd you at hoodman-blind ?
Eyes without feeling, feeling without sight,
Ears without hands or eyes, smelling sans all,
Or but a sickly part of one true sense
Could not so mope.
O shame ! where is thy blush ? Rebellious hell,
If thou canst mutine in a matron's bones,
To flaming youth let virtue be as wax
And melt in her own fire : proclaim no shame
When the compulsive ardour gives the charge,
Since frost itself as actively doth burn,
And reason panders will.'

Now, are the above extracts from the First Quarto play shorthand notes taken at a recitation of the extracts from the First Folio play? Would any shorthand writer—to take one instance only—on hearing that the existing king was 'like a mildew'd ear blasting his wholesome brother' have noted down that he had a 'face like *Vulcan*'? With all due deference to the opinions of Halliwell-Phillipps, the Cambridge editors, Dyce, and Sir Sidney Lee, I submit that the extracts from the Second Quarto are revisions of the extracts from the First Quarto. I believe that the whole of the Second Quarto and the First Folio play is the result of the revision of the First Quarto play, and in this belief I am supported by the opinion of Gervinus, who in his *Shakespeare Commentaries*, a work that enables us to understand the Shakespeare plays more thoroughly than any book that has been written, says :—

> 'We possess a quarto-edition of 1603, which is regarded indeed by Collier, Dyce, and Mommsen, as a faulty and illegal print of the complete piece, but on the other hand, according to the indisputably more just opinion of Knight, Delius, and Staunton, it contains an earlier design of the poet's, though in a mutilated form; the comparison of this with the riper work, just as in the case of the two Romeos, manifests the advancing mind of the poet in that point especially, which is by far the most interesting to us and to our method of perception: in the clearer formation of his play according to one fundamental idea. That the edition of 1603 is not merely a pirated copy of the complete work, may be gathered from the different names, which Polonius and his servant bear in it, the one Corambis and the other Montano. But far more its whole character proves, that Shakespeare's play in the beginning included, it is true, all the actual circumstances of Hamlet, though with no exact realization of their intrinsic meaning. A series of passages are there wanting, which the poet must have subsequently inserted for the purpose of a more distinct characterization of his hero, of his nature, and of his course of action. The significant contrast between Horatio's character and Hamlet's, which is put into the mouth of the latter just before the play of Gonzago's death, is not in the older text. All those sententious allusions to the meaning of the piece in Gonzago's part are wanting. The short soliloquy (Act III. Scene ii.) is omitted, in which the motive for Hamlet's passionate agitation is stated, which explains the scene with his mother and the murder of Polonius. In the soliloquy of the king (Act III. Scene iii.) all the finely interspersed contrasts are absent, which assist to a more true understanding of the piece. We miss the whole scene, in which

Hamlet falls in with Fortinbras' troops, and the whole soliloquy, which offers the readiest key to the idea of the entire work. If all these were the accidental omissions of a fraudulent copyist, there must have been a kind of method in his want of hearing. But it is far more probable, that the poet in the later revision of his work added these enlightened touches to the riddle of his drama, which for so long a time was a book with seven seals, and at its first appearance may have been in no less degree a mystery to many.'

There seems to be a tendency among commentators, whenever in the text of a Quarto there is any great discrepancy between it and the text of another Quarto or between it and the text of the First Folio, to assume that the Quarto was pirated. The whole difference can be accounted for by the revision that is so characteristic of Bacon. I often wonder whether the Shaksperians realise that their contention as to the piracy of the Quartos is really an argument against their own side ; for if Shaksper of Stratford had been the author he could have stopped the piracy. Bacon could not have done this without running the risk of his identity being found out.

I have pointed out in Reason 1 of these Notes that the character of Polonius is a caricature of Lord Burleigh. The dialogue between Polonius and Reynaldo in Act II. Scene i., in which Burleigh's reliance on the help of spies is ridiculed, was not in the First Quarto of 1603, it was a later addition.

Hamlet is the play of a philosopher who has expressed his philosophy in poetry. I shall give examples in these Notes to show that the philosophy of the Shakespeare plays is the philosophy of Bacon.

Henry V.—

There were three Quarto editions of *Henry V.* The first was published in 1600, the second in 1602, and the third in 1608. They were all published anonymously, and the Second and Third Quartos were practically reprints of the First, the few alterations consisting mainly in change of spelling of various words.

The Cambridge editors give a reprint of the First Quarto edition. It consists of 1614 lines. The collated edition of the First Folio contains 3168 lines, and so is nearly

twice the length of the First Quarto. These editors say they are inclined to agree with Collier 'in the supposition that the Quarto text was "hastily made up from notes taken at the theatre during the performance, subsequently patched together."' They call Collier's view a 'supposition.' As a matter of fact, it is a pure assertion. If anybody will examine carefully the text of the First Quarto and the text of the First Folio, I am sure he will come to the conclusion that the Quarto edition is not the result of shorthand notes taken at a performance of the play printed in the First Folio. To take one instance only, namely, the scene in French (Act III. Scene iv. of the First Folio), which contains 56 lines, and the corresponding scene (Scene viii. of the First Quarto), which contains 31 lines. To my mind Act III. Scene iv. of the First Folio is clearly a revision of Scene viii. of the First Quarto. If the words spoken on the stage were as they are printed in the First Folio, no shorthand writer would have written them down as they appear in the Quarto. Again, why should the shorthand writer have left out the 209 lines of the five prologues and the 14 lines of the epilogue? They would have been distinctive features of the play if they had been there. The explanation is that they were added later.

Henry V. was not a new play in 1600. On the title page of the First Quarto it is stated that it had 'bene sundry times played,' and *Henslowe's Diary* shows that a play of this name was acted in 1592. There is nothing in the *Diary* to show who were the authors of the original play, but as it contained some Warwickshire words Drayton may have been one of them, for he was a Warwickshire man.

Romeo and Juliet—

There were four Quarto editions of *Romeo and Juliet*. The first was published anonymously in 1597. The second was published anonymously in 1599, and it was stated on the title page that the play had been 'newly corrected, augmented, and amended.' The third was published anonymously in 1609, and it was again stated that the play had been 'newly corrected, augmented, and

amended.' The fourth is undated. The title page states that the author of the play is W. Shake-speare, and the Cambridge editors say definitely that it was printed from the Quarto edition of 1609. They also state that the First Folio edition was taken from the Quarto edition of 1609; thereby contradicting the contention of the Shaksperians that it, with the other plays, was printed from manuscripts in the possession of the actor-managers that had been revised by Shaksper of Stratford. There is a reprint of the First Quarto edition in the Cambridge edition of the plays. It consists of 2103 lines. The collated edition of the First Folio play contains 2989 lines.

Speaking of the First Quarto edition, the Cambridge editors say :—

> 'An opinion has been entertained by some critics that in this earliest Quarto we have a fairly accurate version of the play as it was at first written : and that in the interval between the publication of the first and the second Quartos, the play was revised and recast by its author in the edition of 1599. A careful examination of the earlier text will, we think, prove this notion to be untenable.'

Their opinion is that the First Quarto edition was obtained from notes taken in shorthand during a representation of the play, which they suggest was a curtailed representation. They consider that the play as published in the Second Quarto of 1599 was 'substantially identical with the play as at first composed,' but 'it seems however to have been revised by the author.' Later on they add : 'In fact, the added matter amounts nearly to a quarter of the whole.'

The example of revision given by the Cambridge editors is Act II. Scene vi. lines 16 to 36 of the collated edition, which correspond with Scene x. lines 11 to 30 of the First Quarto ; but many other examples can be found.

In the Prologue to Act I. of the collated edition, the four lines that follow after the line, 'Whose misadventured piteous overthrows,' are :—

> 'Do with their death bury their parents' strife.
> The fearful passage of their death-mark'd love,
> And the continuance of their parents' rage,
> Which, but their children's end, nought could remove.'

The corresponding lines in the First Quarto are :—

> ' (Through the continuing of their Fathers strife
> And death-markt passage of their Parents rage.) '

The four lines of the collated edition are clearly a revision of the two lines in the First Quarto. If they had been in the original play the shorthand writer would not have written them down as they appear in the First Quarto. It should be noticed that the Cambridge editors suggest that ' the shorthand writer may have been a man of unusual intelligence and skill, and may have been present at many representations in order to correct his work.'

A comparison of Friar Lawrence's rebuke to Romeo (Act III. Scene iii. lines 108 to 154 in the collated edition, and Scene xiii. lines 105 to 126 in the First Quarto edition) shows that the shorthand writer, if he ever existed, was an accurate man who wrote down accurately the words that he heard; for the twenty-two lines of the First Quarto are repeated almost verbatim in the forty-seven of the collated edition. But in Juliet's speech (Scene xii. lines 41 to 52 in the First Quarto, and Act III. Scene ii. lines 90 to 127 in the collated edition) the case is very different. Here the twelve lines of the Quarto are expanded in the collated edition into a conversation between her and the Nurse consisting of thirty-eight lines, and though the ideas of the twelve lines of the Quarto reappear in the collated edition, they are expressed in a different manner. Here again the difference and additions can be accounted for by revision, without the necessity of calling in the assistance of an imaginary shorthand writer.

I do not think that the many additional lines that are found in the Quartos that were published after 1597 and in the First Folio can be accounted for by the suggestion that the First Quarto was taken from a curtailed representation, and I give the opening lines of Scene xii. of the First Quarto and the opening lines of Act III. Scene ii. of the collated edition as a reason.

In the First Quarto we have :—

> ' Gallop apace you firie footed steeds
> To *Phoebus* mansion, such a Waggoner
> As *Phaeton* would quickly bring you thether,
> And send in cloudie night immediately.'

Juliet's speech consists of these four lines only. In the collated edition we have :—

> ' Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds,
> Towards Phœbus' lodging : such a waggoner
> As Phaeton would whip you to the west,
> And bring in cloudy night immediately.'

Then follow twenty-seven lines of Juliet's soliloquy on Romeo and Night.

No shorthand writer who had heard the four lines of the collated edition would have written them down as they appear in the First Quarto ; no man would have written down ' would quickly bring you thether ' for ' would whip you to the west,' and no reporter who had heard the additional twenty-seven lines of Juliet's soliloquy would have left them out, for they are some of the most striking of the play. If the performance at which the shorthand writer had been present had been a curtailed representation, then these were the very lines that would not have been omitted, for they are of a nature that would have appealed to the playgoers of the time. There is just enough suggestion of sensuality about them to attract the attention of the playgoer without their being in any way indecent. A delicate subject is treated with the same refinement with which a somewhat similar subject is treated by Bacon in *Venus and Adonis*. I see the handiwork of the same man in both.

That these twenty-seven lines, as well as the many other additional lines that are found in the later Quartos and in the First Folio edition, are the results of revisions subsequent to 1597, I have no doubt. That *Romeo and Juliet* was revised from time to time is stated on the title pages of the Quarto editions, and I cannot see that these statements can be got over by the assertion that the Quartos were pirated.

The Merry Wives of Windsor—

There were two Quarto editions of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. The first was published in 1602 and the name of the author is given as William Shakespeare. The second was published in 1619 and the play is stated to

have been written by W. Shakespeare. The two texts of these two editions are almost identical, the alterations in the Second Quarto consisting mainly of corrections in spelling. The Cambridge editors give a reprint of the First Quarto collated with the Second Quarto.

Halliwell-Phillipps,[1] speaking of the First Quarto edition, calls it a very defective copy, surreptitiously issued by a catch-penny publisher, made up by a poetaster with the aid of shorthand notes into the form of a play. Alexander Dyce in his edition of the Shakespeare plays considers it a surreptitious, much mutilated, and very inaccurate text of the author's first sketch of the play, and that the First Folio exhibits it as subsequently altered and amplified. The Cambridge editors consider the two Quartos to be imperfect copies of a play earlier than that of the First Folio.

Sir George Greenwood in *The Shakespeare Problem Restated* writes :—

> ' *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was issued in 1602, and was reprinted in 1619, three years after Shakspere's death. In the Folio of 1623 the play appears as a new and greatly enlarged version, with the number of lines increased from 1620 to 2701, the Folio version thus becoming nearly twice as long as that of the Quarto ; and there are numerous emendations introduced.'

J. H. Stotsenburg[2] identifies a good deal of the handiwork of Dekker and Drayton in the First Folio play, and this can also be found in the Quartos.

I give one rather peculiar instance of what appears to me to be Bacon's revision.

In Scene i. of the Quarto editions of 1602 and 1619 Slender says to Anne Page :—

> ' What have you beares in your Towne Mistresse *Anne*, Your dogs barke so ? '

And Anne Page replies :—

> ' I cannot tell M. *Slender*, I think there be.'

The term ' I cannot tell ' is used by other writers than Bacon—for instance, Ben Jonson uses it in *The Poetaster* ; but it is often used by Bacon, as R. M. Theobald points

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*
[2] *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title.*

out in *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, in a peculiar sense. The usual equivalent of the phrase would be some such term as ' I am unable to say ' or ' I am unable to determine,' but Bacon sometimes uses it as a kind of sigh, a sort of ' Heigh Ho ! ' or ' Well-a-day ! ' In the above quotation ' I cannot tell ' used with this meaning would make the passage nonsense. It was evidently intended to be used with the meaning of ' I am unable to say ' ; so in Act I. Scene i. of the First Folio play Bacon altered it, and Slender says :—

' Why do your dogs bark so ? be there bears i' the town ? '

And Anne Page replies :—

' I think there are, sir ; I heard them talked of.'

I feel certain that the play published in the two Quartos does not consist of 1620 lines taken in shorthand from the 2701 lines of the First Folio, but that the Folio play is a revision of the Quarto play. Take as an instance the extracts given as to the phrase ' I cannot tell.' If Anne Page had replied to Slender's question :—

' I think there are, sir ; I heard them talked of,'

no shorthand writer would have written them down :—

' I cannot tell M. Slender, I think there be.'

I think the probable explanation of the authorship of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* is as follows.

Bacon had nothing to do with the earlier play published in the First and Second Quartos. This earlier play was written in collaboration by certain persons of whom Dekker was probably one. It was procured by Shaksper of Stratford and attributed to and published under the name of Shakespeare, for the same reasons that *The London Prodigal* and the other five plays previously mentioned were attributed to and published under the name of Shakespeare. After 1619 Bacon revised this earlier play and published his revision in the First Folio.

Other plays besides those mentioned by Sir George Greenwood show instances of revision.

As stated earlier in these Notes, I believe that the First

Folio play of *King John* was founded on, or rather was a revision of, an earlier play called *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, written by Drayton and Dekker. A Quarto edition of this earlier play was published anonymously in 1591, a second edition was published in 1611, and the title page states that the author was ' W. Sh.', and a third edition was published in 1622 with the name ' W. Shakespeare ' on the title page. No doubt this was the play referred to by Meres in 1598. I suggest that this play had been procured by Shaksper of Stratford for his company, and that the name Shakespeare appeared on the title page for the same reasons previously given in regard to other plays procured by him.

The Cambridge editors, speaking of the First Folio play of *King John*, say that its author ' adopted most of the characters, the general plot, and occasional lines or fragments of lines ' from this earlier play, and ' although the earlier play is by no means devoid of merit, the evidence of its style conclusively proves that Shakespeare had no part in the authorship.'

If Shaksper of Stratford founded the Folio play of *King John* on *The Troublesome Reign* he must have written it before 1616, and if he had done this no publisher would have published *The Troublesome Reign* under the name of W. Shakespeare in 1622. The explanation is that the First Folio play was a revision of *The Troublesome Reign* and that this revision was made subsequent to 1622, and therefore after Shaksper of Stratford's death. J. H. Stotsenburg [1] has pointed out a good deal of the writing of Drayton and Dekker in the First Folio play, which also shows many instances of Bacon's work. It may be mentioned that when the First Folio was published, no licence was obtained for the publication of *King John*. This shows that it was not a new play.

The object of the Cambridge editors was, by collating the First Folio and Quarto editions, to provide an accurate text of the Shakespeare plays ; but in each volume of their work they wrote certain introductory remarks. I cannot help thinking that if it had occurred to them that the

[1] *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title.*

Shakespeare plays were not the result of one man's work, but the result of one man's revision of other men's work, their introductory remarks might have been somewhat different from what they are.

There were four Quarto editions of *Richard II.* The first was published anonymously in 1597; the second in 1598, and the author's name is given as William Shake-speare; the third in 1608 also under the name of William Shake-speare; and the fourth in 1615, William Shake-speare being again stated to be the author.

In the Third Quarto of 1608, 165 new lines were added. This shows revision during the lifetime of Shaksper of Stratford, and is contrary to the Shaksperian contention that Shaksper of Stratford was the author of the plays and sold them out and out to the theatrical companies. An author who had parted with all his interest in a play would not afterwards add 165 lines to it. The Cambridge editors say that the First Folio play was printed from the Quarto of 1615, 'corrected with some care,' thereby contradicting the Shaksperian contention that the plays of the First Folio were printed from the manuscripts in the possession of the theatrical managers.

There were six Quarto editions of *Henry IV.*, Part I. The first was published anonymously in 1598; the second in 1599, and the title page states that the play had been 'newly corrected' by W. Shake-speare; the third in 1604, and the title page again states that the play had been 'newly corrected' by W. Shake-speare; the fourth in 1608, and the title page for the third time states that the play had been 'newly corrected' by W. Shake-speare; the fifth in 1613, and the title page for the fourth time states that the play had been 'newly corrected' by W. Shake-speare; and the sixth in 1622, and the title page for the fifth time states that the play had been 'newly corrected' by W. Shake-speare. If the statements on these title pages are correct, the play was revised five times previous to the publication of the First Folio.

The Cambridge editors say that the First Folio edition was printed from a partially corrected copy of the Fifth Quarto of 1613. This again contradicts the contention

of the Shaksperians that the First Folio plays were printed from manuscripts in the possession of the actor-managers that had been revised by Shaksper of Stratford ; and if they would contend that the Quartos were taken from manuscripts revised from time to time by Shaksper of Stratford, why should Heminge and Condell have printed the First Folio play from the Quarto of 1613 when there was a later one in existence subsequently revised by him ?

Henry VI., Part II., although printed for the first time in the First Folio of 1623, is admitted to have been founded on the play called *The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster.*

There were three Quarto editions of *The Contention.* The first was published anonymously in 1594, the second was published anonymously in 1600, and the third was published without date. This third edition stated that the play had been ' newly corrected and enlarged,' and that it was written by William Shake-speare. It is now settled that this third edition was published in 1619. The reasons for fixing this date are given in the Preface to Volume v. of the Cambridge Edition of the plays.

If Shaksper of Stratford wrote *Henry VI.*, Part II., and also ' corrected and enlarged ' *The Contention*, he must have done both previous to his death in 1616, and no publisher would in 1619 have published *The Contention* as ' corrected and enlarged ' by William Shake-speare if another play founded on it and written by the same author had been in existence. The explanation is that *Henry VI.*, Part II., is a revision of *The Contention* written after 1619.

Sir George Greenwood [1] on the subject of this play says :—

> ' The second and third parts of *Henry VI.* were published in 1594 and 1595 under the titles, respectively, of " The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster," etc., and " The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of York, and the death of good King Henrie the Sixt," etc. Second editions of both appeared in 1600 ; and in 1619, three years after Shakespere's death, a third edition was published of the two plays together—

[1] *The Shakespeare Problem Restated.*

"The Whole Contention betweene the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke etc. . . . Divided into two Parts and newly corrected and enlarged. Written by *William Shakespeare*, Gent." In the Folio of 1623 these same plays "appear under new titles, and the Second part now contained 1578 new lines and is otherwise much altered." '

The last sentence in the above is taken from G. C. Bompas' book, *The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays*; but I conclude that Sir George Greenwood agrees with the statement.

In *Henry VI.*, Part III., there is another instance of the alteration of the phrase ' I cannot tell.'

In Scene iv. of *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, on which *Henry VI.*, Part III., was founded, Warwick makes the following remark :—

> ' Whether 'twas report of his successe,
> Or more then common feare of *Cliffords* rigor,
> Who thunders to his captaines bloud and death,
> I cannot tell.'

Here again the use of the phrase ' I cannot tell ' with the meaning sometimes given to it by Bacon would make the above lines nonsense. In order to avoid any ambiguity the person responsible for *Henry VI.*, Part III. (Act II. Scene i.), altered them to :—

> ' Whether 'twas report of her success ;
> Or more than common fear of Clifford's rigour,
> Who thunders to his captives blood and death,
> I cannot judge.'

I do not enter into the much discussed question as to whether the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays had anything to do with *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy* or not, for the question is immaterial to my purpose. All I will say is that in *Henry VI.*, Parts I., II., and III., there are numerous instances of Baconian thoughts and Baconian expressions. Some of these I mention in various parts of these Notes, others can be found in R. M. Theobald's book *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*.

Henslowe's Diary shows that Dekker and Chettle wrote a play called *Troilus and Cressida* in 1599, and there is an

entry in the Stationers' Register, '7 Feb. 1602-3, Mr. Roberts the booke of Troilus and Cresseda, as yt is acted by My Lo Chamberlens men'; but there is no allusion to the name of the author.

There were two Quarto editions of *Troilus and Cressida*, both published in 1609, and the only difference of any importance between them is that one is anonymous and the other has the name William Shakespeare on the title page.

The Cambridge editors say 'there are remarkable discrepancies between the Quarto and the Folio text' and express the opinion 'that the Quarto was printed from a transcript of the author's original M.S.; that this M.S. was afterwards revised and slightly altered by the author himself, and that before the First Folio was printed from it, it had been tampered with by another hand.' By 'the author' they, of course, mean Shaksper of Stratford. According to these authorities this is another instance of a Shakespeare play having been revised not only at the time of the publication of the First Folio but also during the life of Shaksper of Stratford.

J. H. Stotsenburg [1] points out the handiwork of Dekker, Chettle, and Bacon in the First Folio edition of the play.

There were two Quartos of *Titus Andronicus*, one published in 1600 and the other in 1611.[2] Both were anonymous. The First Folio contains a whole scene (Act III. Scene ii.) that is not in either of the Quartos, and the Cambridge editors consider that it agrees 'too closely in style with the main portion of the play to allow of the supposition that it is due to a different author.'

In the Introduction to the photographic reproduction of the First Folio, published by the Clarendon Press in 1902, it is stated that Shakespeare and his colleagues 'wrote for the stage and not for the study. They intended their plays to be spoken and not to be read.' This statement may be true in regard to Drayton, Dekker, Monday, Chettle, and Webster, or whoever the authors of the original plays may have been, but I hold that it is

[1] *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title.*

[2] I believe that an earlier Quarto of 1594 has recently been found. What it is like I do not know.

not true in regard to the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays. The frequent revision shown in the Quarto editions and the final revision for the purpose of publication in the First Folio is not characteristic of a man who sold his plays out and out to a theatrical company or who intended his plays to be spoken and not to be read, but it is characteristic of Francis Bacon, who revised his acknowledged works over and over again. Moreover, the plays as a whole seem to me more fitted for study than for production on the stage. Such plays as *Timon of Athens*, *King Lear*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and even *Hamlet*, are more fit for reading than for acting, and many of the others would not be acceptable to a modern audience without a great deal of curtailment and considerable scenic arrangement.

Swinburne, speaking of the revision of *Hamlet* by the author, says :—

> ' Of all vulgar errors the most wanton, the most wilful, and the most resolutely tenacious of life, is that belief bequeathed from the days of Pope, in which it was pardonable, to the days of Carlyle, in which it is not excusable, to the effect that Shakespeare threw off *Hamlet* as an eagle may moult a feather or a fool may break a jest ; that he dropped his work as a bird may drop an egg or a sophist a fallacy ; that he wrote " for gain not glory," or that having written *Hamlet*, he thought it nothing very wonderful to have written. For himself to have written, he possibly, nay probably, did not think it anything miraculous ; but that he was in the fullest degree conscious of its wonderful positive worth to all men for all time, we have the best evidence possible—his own ; and that not by mere word of mouth, but by actual stroke of hand. . . . Scene by scene, line for line, stroke upon stroke, and touch after touch, he went over all the old laboured ground again ; and not to ensure success in his own day, and fill his pockets with contemporary pence, but merely and wholly with a purpose to make it worthy of himself and his future students. . . . Not one single alteration in the whole play can possibly have been made with a view to stage effect or to present popularity and profit. . . . Every change in the text of *Hamlet* has impaired its fitness for the stage, and increased its value for the closet in exact proportion. Now, this is not a matter of opinion—of Mr. Pope's opinion or Mr. Carlyle's ; it is a matter of fact and evidence. Even in Shakespeare's time the actors threw out his additions ; they throw out these very same additions in our own.'

Some of the plays in the First Folio have been rejected

by literary critics as not being Shakespearian. For example, the *Henry VI.* plays have been attributed to Marlowe, Greene, and Peele, *Timon of Athens* to George Wilkins, and *Henry VIII.* to Fletcher. I hope I have made it clear that I do not claim that Bacon wrote the entirety of the Shakespeare plays; in fact, I do not consider it possible that any one man could have written them. What I claim is that Bacon revised then-existing plays and that his handiwork can be found in all the plays comprised in the First Folio. Who wrote the plays that Bacon revised is immaterial to the purpose of these Notes.

More recently J. T. Looney in *Shakespeare Identified*, has endeavoured to prove that Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was Shakespeare. I do not wish to criticise the writings of those who do not agree with my views; so all I will say is that J. T. Looney may have made out a case for the possibility of Edward de Vere having had a hand in some of the plays that Bacon revised, but he has not proved that he was Shakespeare.

In the first section of these Notes I have stated that in the First Folio editions of *Timon of Athens*, *Cymbeline*, *Henry VI.*, Part II., and *Henry VIII.*, there are distinct references to Bacon after his fall. No one of these plays was published till 1623, and in the case of *Henry VI.*, Part II., the passage referred to was not in any of the Quarto editions of *The Contention*. It did not appear until the First Folio was published in 1623.

I claim that the publication of three possibly new plays in the First Folio, and the revision of several of the plays that had been previously published and of the three that Halliwell-Phillipps considered were new, show that the person responsible for these finished plays was living in 1623; and, as some of the new additions refer to incidents in the latter part of Bacon's life, and others express his well-known philosophical views, and a considerable part of them agree with his style of writing, that he was that person.

REASON 7

If Bacon was responsible for the plays there were several reasons why he should wish to conceal the fact.

CONCEALED and feigned authorship was by no means uncommon in the times of Elizabeth and James. Greene, in his *Farewell to Folly*, says :—

> ' Others—if they come to write or publish anything in print—which for their calling and gravity being loth to have any profane pamphlets pass under their hand, get some other to set his name to their verses. Thus is the ass made proud by this underhand brokery.'

The above extract from the *Farewell to Folly* shows that if Bacon wrote the poems and was responsible for the plays, and brought them out under the name of William Shakespeare or William Shake-speare, he was not doing anything particularly unusual, and there is no reason to make a tremendous fuss about it. No one raises any objection when it is suggested that Edmund Spenser sometimes wrote under the name of Immerito, but when it is suggested that Francis Bacon sometimes wrote under the name of William Shakespeare or William Shake-speare there are many who raise objections and ask why he should have done so.

I have in the Introduction to these Notes given one, and perhaps the main reason why Bacon did not wish to be known, namely, his desire to avoid as far as possible all opposition and contention. But there were as well other reasons of a more personal nature.

He may not have considered it advisable that a poem of the nature of *Venus and Adonis* or of *Lucrece* should appear under his name. Many, such as his Puritan mother, might regard them as profane. Hall, afterwards Bishop of Exeter and subsequently Bishop of Norwich,

disapproved of them most strongly, as I have already shown.

Francis Bacon was born in an atmosphere of concealed authorship. His father is supposed to have written a political treatise but to have hidden his name. His mother wrote translations from Latin and Italian, but did not put her name to them. His brother Anthony was an expert cipher writer. Francis took the infection. In 1584 he wrote a ' Letter of Advice to Queen Elizabeth ' that for a long time was supposed to have been written by Burleigh, and in 1589 he wrote a letter to M. Critoy, Secretary of France, that for a long time was supposed to have been written by Walsingham. He wrote letters for Essex and other people. He wrote Masques for Gray's Inn and a Device for Essex, and did not divulge that he was the author. There is nothing more strange in his not having claimed his authorship of the poems or his responsibility for the plays than his not having claimed the authorship of the Gray's Inn Masques or Essex's Device. There were reasons for his not claiming the poems and the plays, but there were no reasons for his not claiming the Masques and the Device.

Walter Begley in *Is it Shakespeare?* says that Bacon held the unusual view that a man's writings should follow him after his death and that it was an ' untimely anticipation ' to let the world have them while he was alive.

In a letter Bacon wrote to Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, he says :—

> ' I account the use that a man should seek of the publishing of his own writings before his death to be an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not go along with him.'

In his ' Essay of Simulation and Dissimulation ' he says :—

> ' An habit of secrecy is both politic and moral. . . . So no man can be secret except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation ; which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy. . . . The best composition and temperature is, to have openness in fame and opinion, secrecy in habit, dissimulation in seasonable use, and a power to feign, if there be no remedy.'

Bacon was a younger son who had to make his own

way in the world. His relations wished him to give all his time to the study of law. He looked to his uncle Burleigh for preferment. If his relations or his friends at Court had known that he was writing poems or revising plays it would have been fatal to his interests. His mother was a strong Puritan with a vehement prejudice against anything connected with the stage. If she had known he had written such a poem as *Venus and Adonis*, or *Lucrece*, or was in any way concerned in play-writing, she would have been struck with horror. Both Francis and Anthony appear to have been somewhat afraid of their strong-minded mother, and we know that she could write some strongly-worded letters. It was derogatory for a man in Bacon's position to write plays. In the time of Elizabeth an actor was regarded as a vagrant, and a play-writer was considered but little better. Gervinus, in his *Shakespeare Commentaries*, says :—

> ' It is only in recent times that a professional author has come, under the most favorable circumstances, to be considered in England a gentleman. To look to any kind of literary composition for a revenue was, in the time of Bacon, sufficient to degrade any man from that rank in which, according to Blackstone, no one was tolerated who could not " live idly and without manual labor." '

Again, Elizabeth had always looked with suspicion on the play of *Richard II.* and when, after the trial of Essex, she came to regard it as treasonable, it was more than ever necessary to keep the responsibility for that play secret. There was trouble also about Sir John Oldcastle having been introduced as a character in the plays of *Henry IV.*, Part I., and *Henry IV.*, Part II. Bacon could not admit his connection with any of these plays.

The circumstances relating to the trial and execution of the Earl of Essex were shortly as follows.

Essex's expedition to Ireland ended in failure, and he returned to London in disgrace. He had always been popular with the Londoners, and he and his friends, including Southampton, endeavoured to recover his position by stirring up a rebellion in London. The plot failed. A part of the scheme was the acting of the play of *Richard II.* the day before that fixed for the rising ; in

the hope apparently that the scene representing the killing of a king would encourage a popular outbreak. Essex and Southampton were brought to trial, and Bacon acted for the prosecution. Essex was executed, and Southampton imprisoned for the remainder of Elizabeth's reign.

The play of *Richard II.* was mentioned in the trial; but one of the most extraordinary circumstances of the trial is that the author was in no way involved; in fact, his name was never mentioned. In an ordinary case the author of the play that the Queen considered treasonable, and the acting of which had formed part of the revolutionary scheme, would have been one of the first persons to be involved. The fact that Shaksper of Stratford, if he was the author, was never mentioned is, to say the least, most mysterious. But if he was the author there is another mystery, namely, the part taken by Bacon in the trial. He has been much blamed for assisting in the prosecution of his friends, one of whom was his benefactor.

It has been suggested that Elizabeth knew Bacon was responsible for the play of *Richard II.* and compelled him to prosecute. This may be so; but this is certain, that he appeared at the trial in accordance with his duties as an officer of the crown and at the express command of the Queen. He had warned Essex what would be the results of the course he was taking, and had told him that on any breach of the peace he himself would be on the side of the government. In 'The Apology of Sr Francis Bacon Kt In certain Imputations concerning the late Earl of Essex,' written to the Earl of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and printed in the *Resuscitatio* of 1671, Bacon says:—

> 'Whatsoever I did concerning that action and proceeding, was done in my duty and service to the Queen and the State; in which I would not shew my self false-hearted, nor faint-hearted, for any man's sake living. For every honest man that hath his heart well planted, will forsake his King, rather than forsake God; and forsake his friend, rather than forsake his King; and yet will forsake any earthly commodity, yea, and his own life in some cases, rather than forsake his friend.'

Bacon was a patriot above everything, and a firm believer in the rule of Elizabeth. I believe that his *Apology* is thoroughly genuine, and that in it he spoke 'the truth'; but I do not believe that he spoke 'the whole truth.' I feel certain there was another reason for his conduct, and I suggest that it was because he was responsible for the treasonable play. As one of the prosecuting counsel he could keep the question of the authorship of the play out of the trial; and it was kept out. His friends would have been no better off if some other advocate had taken his place, and they might have been worse off, for as one of the prosecuting counsel he might have been able to do something to help them. It would appear that he did do all he could, and he may have saved Southampton's life. If another counsel had appeared in his place he might have raised the question of the authorship of the play, and then Bacon would probably have had to join Essex and Southampton as one of the accused, and his friends would have been none the better off. I do not wish to excuse Bacon in any way, I merely wish to give reasons for his conduct. Whatever the cause may have been he had to bear the burden, and his memory does so still. Prosecuting his friends caused him to be regarded with much enmity at the time, and placed a blot on his character that has never been effaced. This blot, I think, was not deserved.

Spedding (vol. vii. page 133) says :—

> 'The book of deposing Richard the second and the coming in of Henry the fourth, supposed to be written by Dr. Hayward, who was committed to the Tower for it, had much incensed Elizabeth.'

Bacon refers to this book in *The Apology*, before mentioned, and says :—

> 'For her Majesty being mightily incensed with that Book which was dedicated to my Lord of Essex, being a story of the first year of King Henry the fourth, thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the peoples head boldness and faction, said, she had an opinion, that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it, that might be drawn within case of treason: whereto I answered; for treason surely I found none, but for fellony very many. And when Her Majesty hastily asked me wherein; I told her, the Author had committed, very apparent theft, for he had

taken most of the sentences of Cornelius Tacitus, and translated them into English, and put them into his Text. And another time when the Queen would not be perswaded, that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous Author, and said with great indignation, that she would have him racked to produce his Author ; I replyed, Nay, Madam, he is a Doctor, never rack his person, but rack his stile ; let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoyned to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake by collecting the stiles, to judge whether he be the Author or no.'

Later on in *The Apology*, speaking of the arrangements for the proceedings at York House concerning the conduct of Essex in Ireland, he says :—

' Hereupon the next news that I heard, was, that we were all sent for again, and that her Majesties pleasure was, we all should have parts in the business ; and the Lords falling into distribution of our parts, it was allotted to me, that I should set forth some undutiful carriages of my Lord in giving occasion and countenance to a seditious Pamphlet, as it was termed, which was dedicated unto him, which was the Book before mentioned of King Henry the fourth. Whereupon I replied to that allotment, and said to their Lordships, that it was an old matter, and had no manner of coherence with the rest of the Charge, being matters of Ireland, & therefore that I having been wronged by bruits before, this would expose me to them more ; and it would be said, I gave in evidence mine own tales. It was answered again with good shew, that because it was considered how I stood tyed to my Lord of Essex, therefore that part was thought fittest for me, which did him least hurt : for that whereas all the rest was matter of Charge and Accusation, this was but matter of Caveat and Admonition. Wherewith though I was in one mind little satisfied, because I knew well a man were better to be charged with some faults, than admonished for some others : yet the conclusion binding upon the Queens pleasure directly, *volens nolens*, I could not avoid that part that was laid upon me ; which part if in the delivery I did handle not tenderly (though no man before me did in so clear tearms free my Lord from all disloyalty as I did) that your Lordship knoweth, must be ascribed to the superior duty I did owe to the Queens fame and honour in a publick proceeding, and partly to the intention I had to uphold my self in credit and strength with the Queen, the better to be able to do my Lord good offices afterwards.'

I am not aware of any acknowledged work of Bacon, tale or otherwise, that treats of the deposing of Richard the Second and the coming in of Henry the Fourth, yet he feared that in bringing the subject forward ' it would

be said I gave in evidence mine own tales.' The only writing dealing with the deposition of Richard the Second that has, as far as I know, ever been claimed to have been written by Bacon is the Shakespeare play of *Richard II.*, and it looks very much as though in *The Apology* he admitted his responsibility for it and assumed that others also knew it.

Walter Begley [1] gives another reason why Bacon may not have made any claim to the plays. Speaking of the opinion of Spedding and others that Bacon was incapable of writing the poems or the plays, he says that this opinion was probably founded on Bacon's own remarks on poetry in the *Advancement of Learning*. He then says :—

> ' In later life Bacon's views with regard to Poetry seem to have considerably altered. The difference between the views held in the *Advancement of Learning* of 1605, and the remarks on Poetry in the revised and enlarged edition of the same book in 1623, is very striking. In his later years Poetry holds a far less important place among the elements of human knowledge and progress. In *Advancement of Learning* (1605) he claims that " for the expression of affections, passions, corruptions, and customs we are beholden to poets' more than to philosophers' works." In the corresponding place of the revised edition of 1623 he drops this claim altogether. In 1605 " Poesy " is declared to be one of the three " goodly fields "—" history " and " experience " being the other two—where " grow observations " concerning the " several characters and tempers of men's natures and dispositions." In 1623 this is omitted, or at least deprecated considerably, because poets are apt to " exceed " the truth. In fact the revised edition of 1623 so underrates the value of Poesy and Works of the Imagination, that we are led to think that Bacon, if he had not been hampered by previous publications, would have deposed both Poetry and Imagination from the high place they still continued to occupy in his system. I suggest that as Bacon grew older he looked with much less appreciation on his earlier contributions to Poetry and its criticism. He thought far less of the Shakespeare Poems and Plays than he did in younger days. His *New Method*, his *Novum Organum*, and *Instauratio* possessed him and cast out much of his earlier aspirations. Moreover, his philosophical methods could be exactly preserved in a language that would live (Latin), while his " works of recreation " could not be so preserved. May not these things partly account for the strange neglect and concealment of the

[1] *Is it Shakespeare?*

earlier and immortal productions of his genius, and for his disregard of the fame that might attach to their author? I say "partly account," advisedly, for I have given other reasons elsewhere for this concealment, viz. the wish in early days not to offend relations and friends; not to bring envy or ill-odour on himself; not to rouse personal controversy, and such like.'

Another reason why Bacon may not have made any claim to the plays is that, as so much of them was the work of other men, he may not have felt justified in doing so.

A question that is often asked is: If Bacon wrote the plays, why did he not acknowledge them? I have given an answer to this, and now wish also to ask a question.

Love's Labour's Lost, which is the first play that bore a name (Shakespere), was published in 1598. But it and several other plays had been previously published and none of them had any name on the title pages. Is it unfair to ask: If Shaksper of Stratford wrote these plays, why did he not acknowledge them? The one question is as fair as the other. There were reasons why Bacon should not acknowledge the part he had taken in the plays, but there were none why Shaksper of Stratford should not have claimed them if he had been their author. He had no chance of preferment to injure, no Court career to jeopardise, no Puritan mother to be afraid of. On the contrary, the knowledge that he was the author would have helped him in his profession.

It has been asked: Why did not Bacon acknowledge his authorship in his will? There were no political or professional prospects to damage then, no Lady Anne to fear, no danger of a charge of treason.

Even to the end of his life Bacon still hoped to be received back into Court favour, and to return to the House of Lords. Lady Anne was dead, and there was no danger of a charge of treason. But there was still the desirability, as Bacon thought, of avoiding the opposition and contention that the announcement of his name might have caused. Moreover, if the knowledge that he was associated with play-writing would have been derogatory

to his reputation during his lifetime, it would have been derogatory to his memory after his death.

Here again I ask a question in reply. If Shaksper of Stratford was the author of the plays, why did he not mention them in his will? His will is a detailed one. He gives specific legacies of such things as rings, swords, and drinking bowls, and, as an afterthought, he gives his second best bed to his wife; but he says nothing about any plays or poems.

REASON 8

Many of Bacon's philosophical views appear in the plays, and some of these views appeared in the plays before they were published in Bacon's acknowledged prose works.

In giving instances of illustrations in the plays of Bacon's philosophy I only take a few of those points in his philosophy that appear to me to be most unusual and most unlike the thoughts of others, and therefore most characteristic of Bacon, who was undoubtedly an original thinker. I have only just touched the fringe of the subject, and any one wishing to study it thoroughly should read R. M. Theobald's book, *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*.

G. C. Bompas [1] says that Bacon wrote :—

> 'The loadstone draws inferior to superior powers as iron in atoms cleaves to the magnet, but in mass will, like a true patriot, with appetite of amity fall towards the centre of the earth.'

The meaning of this is that everything is attracted to the centre of the earth, in the same way that superior powers overcome inferior powers and that iron in atoms is drawn to the magnet. In other words, it shows that Bacon was aware of the mutual attraction of all bodies to each other, and that the greater power of the larger mass resulted in the smaller mass being drawn to the greater.

Bacon died in 1626. Isaac Newton was born in 1642. So it appears that Bacon anticipated in principle Newton's discovery of gravitation. This is somewhat startling, but it is still more so to find that the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays had done the same thing.

[1] *The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays.*

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act IV. Scene ii., Cressida says :—

> ' But the strong base and building of my love
> Is as the very centre of the earth,
> Drawing all things to it.'

It is not likely that two different men had anticipated Newton's discovery of gravitation.

Love—

Shaksperians say that it is impossible that the Bacon who wrote the philosophical works could have written the Shakespeare poems and plays, and, in particular, the love scenes of the plays.

It must not be forgotten that Bacon wrote his philosophical works in his later days ; the poems were written when he was young, when his blood was hot and fiery. The later plays show deeper thought and more philosophical reasoning than the early ones. The Bacon of Gorhambury who sat meditating in his chair, as he is represented in St. Michael's Church near St. Albans, and in the ante-chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a very different man to the Bacon of the early days at Gray's Inn who was frequenting playhouses and generally living the sort of life that so much upset his Puritan mother. It seems difficult to believe that the staid, the serious, the highly religious Milton could have written those verses to his first love, the girl he met on that May Day when he was only nineteen years old. But he did write them, and people accept the fact and raise no objection ; but when they are asked to believe that Bacon did the same kind of thing they say it is impossible.

The argument put forth by the Shaksperians is that the same man who wrote the ' Essay of Love ' could not have written the love portions of the plays. Bacon's view of love, they say, is cold, passionless, and unromantic. This argument is worth examination.

Bacon in the Preface to his *Essays* speaks of their double purpose. ' They come home,' he says, ' to Men's Businesse and Bosomes.' Love in his essay is treated solely from the business point of view. Emotion is suppressed.

Business is supreme. He says that 'the Stage is more beholding to *Love* than the Life of Man.' By this he means the emotional side of love. In his essay he treats of love from the statesman's and the philosopher's point of view, of love from the point of view of politics and economics, of love in its bearing on public life and business. Baconians hold that he treated love from the emotional point of view in the Shakespeare plays. But if the plays be carefully examined one cannot help seeing how much their love portions and the results that follow from love correspond with the views expressed in the essay. Love, that is emotional love, is, according to Bacon, to be kept for the privacy of home life; it is for private household use. If it enters into public life it has an enfeebling influence, renders its votaries weak and ridiculous, and incapacitates their business powers.

A good deal is known about Bacon's public life, but very little about his inner home life. Still it is clear from the speech 'in praise of the worthiest affection' in the *Conference of Pleasure* that he fully appreciated the benefits of true love. He says:—

> 'Love is a pure gain and advancement in nature; it is not a good by comparison, but a true good; it is not an ease of pain, but a true purchase of pleasure, and, therefore, when our minds are soundest, when they are not, as it were, in sickness and therefore out of taste, but when we be in prosperity, when we want nothing, then is the season, and the opportunity, and the spring of love. And as it springeth not out of ill, so it is not intermixed with ill; it is not like the virtues, which by a steep and ragged way conduct us to a plain, and are hard taskmasters at first; but the first aspect of love and all that followeth, is gracious and pleasant.'

Another instance of Bacon's views on true love is found in *Venus and Adonis*, where he writes:—

> 'Love comforteth like sunshine after rain,
> But Lust's effect is tempest after sun;
> Love's gentle spring doth always fresh remain,
> Lust's winter comes ere summer half is done;
> Love surfeits not, Lust like a glutton dies:
> Love is all truth, Lust full of forged lies.'

From the business point of view, as expressed in the essay, he regards love as a 'weake Passion.' 'In Life it

doth much mischiefe : Sometimes like a *Syren* ; Sometimes like a *Fury*.' ' If it checke once with Businesse ; it troubleth Men's fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can no wayes be true to their own Ends.' ' Great Spirits and great Businesse doe keepe out this weake Passion.' ' He that preferred *Helena*, quitted the Gifts of *Juno* and *Pallas*. For whosoever esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection, quitteth both *Riches* and *Wisdome*.' Love is the ' Child of Folly.' ' They doe best who, if they cannot but admit *Love*, yet make it keep Quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious Affairs and Actions of life.' ' Martial Men are given to *Love*.' There is a Promus note on Folio 103 : ' Love me lyttell love me long,' and on Folio 130 : ' Un amoreux fait toujours quelque chose folastre.'

The above are some of Bacon's opinions on love when regarded, as it is in the essay, from the business point of view. I will consider, shortly, the part played by love in the plays. It will be found that it agrees with the views expressed in the essay.

R. M. Theobald [1] says on this subject :—

> ' One of the most striking features of the Shakespearean drama is the extremely restricted use it makes of love, which is supposed to be the foundation and pivot of dramatic art. The exceeding beauty and attractiveness of the love pictures actually given, blinds us to their rarity : they attract so much interest as almost to absorb the consideration of the reader or spectator, and put other scenes into the shade. Also the charm of these love pictures is so great that we are apt to forget that they are often set in a framework of weakness, confusion, or disorder,—that there is a canker of decay in even the loveliest of these flowers. Apart from this it is to be remarked that in a large proportion of the plays love is either entirely absent or completely subordinate—not the main centre of interest or action. And again, even where some slight love element is introduced, it may be not only very unimportant, but entirely destitute of romance or fascination.'

I will now run through the plays and show that the above statements are true. I take the historical plays first.

In *King John* and in *Richard II.* there are no love episodes.

[1] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

In *Henry IV.*, Part I., love is introduced in the characters of Hotspur and Lady Percy. Hotspur does not let his love for his wife enter into his business. She reproaches him, says she has watched him and found he has some heavy business in hand, and wants to know what it is. He refuses, tells her to come and see him on horseback and then he will swear he loves her infinitely; but adds that she is not to question him whither he goes, 'nor reason whereabout: Whither I must, I must' (Act II. Scene iii.). It is an instance of true marital love, but Hotspur will not allow his love to enter into his public life; he makes it 'keep quarter' and severs it from the 'serious affairs and actions of life.'

An attempt to find love in *Henry IV.*, Part II., introduces Doll Tearsheet. This cannot be called love, and there is no other instance in the play.

In *Henry V.* the King courts the French Princess, but it is mainly a matter of policy; it turns on considerations of State advantage. Bacon says in his essay that 'Martial Men are given to *Love*.' Henry is an instance of this, but he also makes his love 'keep quarter.' In Act v. Scene ii., when making love to the Princess, he says:—

> 'I speak to thee plain soldier: if thou canst love me for this, take me; if not, to say to thee that I shall die, is true; but for thy love, by the Lord, no; yet I love thee too.'

The only thing approaching a love scene in *Henry VI.*, Part I., is in Act v. Scene v., where the King decides to make an offer of marriage by proxy.

There is no love scene in either *Henry VI.*, Part II., or in *Henry VI.*, Part III.

There is very little love in *Richard III.* There is a strange scene (Act I. Scene ii.) in which Gloucester, for reasons of self-advancement, succeeds in overcoming the curses of Lady Ann, and then remarks:—

> 'Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?
> Was ever woman in this humour won?'

In *Henry VIII.* the King's love affairs are entirely subservient to State considerations. The love of Queen Katharine is not consistent with his interests; he is

determined that it shall not check with his business or trouble his fortunes. The person responsible for the play regarded *Henry VIII.* as a man who did not allow love to enter into his public life, but made it 'keep quarter.'

The few instances of love in the historical plays illustrate the philosophy of love as expressed in Bacon's essay.

I now take the tragedies.

Troilus and Cressida is not a love play, although a love scene is the central incident of the plot. In his essay Bacon says that 'the Speaking in perpetuall *Hyperbole* is comely in nothing but in *Love*.' Act III. Scene ii. is an example of this; but it is not an example of true love, for in spite of her vows Cressida is subsequently unfaithful. He also says: 'You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy Persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not One, that hath beene transported, to the mad degree of *Love*.' The play is an instance of this; for none of the noblest characters have any share in it, or any love passages of their own.

Bacon says in his essay:—

> 'Therefore, it is well said; That it is impossible to love, and to be wise.'

In Act III. Scene ii. Cressida expresses the same view when she says:—

> 'To be wise, and love,
> Exceeds man's might; that dwells with gods above.'

Coriolanus has no love scene. Coriolanus loves his wife and his mother sincerely, but at the beginning of the play he makes his love 'keep quarter.' When in Act II. Scene i. they meet him on his victorious return to Rome, he says:—

> 'Ere in our own house I do shade my head,
> The good patricians must be visited.'

He does not allow his marital and filial love to interfere with his duties. But in Act v. Scene iii. he yields to his love and allows it to ruin his plans. It is an instance of

the remark in the essay that if love ' checke once with Businesse it troubleth Men's fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can, no ways be true to their own Ends.'

There is no love scene in *Titus Andronicus*.

In *Romeo and Juliet* there is plenty of love, and love of a most romantic kind. It has not been made to ' keep quarter,' but has been allowed to enter into the business of life; with the result that its votaries come to disaster. The love in this play is an amplification of Bacon's views that if it is not made to ' keep quarter ' it ' troubleth Men's fortunes.'

In Act II. Scene vi. Friar Lawrence gives Romeo some Baconian advice, where he says :—

> ' Love moderately ; long love doth so ;
> Too swift arrives as tardy as too slow.'

The above is an echo of Bacon's Promus note : ' Love me lyttell love me long.'

Timon of Athens has no love scenes.

In *Julius Caesar*, Portia and Calpurnia are the only two female characters, and in both cases their power and place correspond with the limitations that Bacon considered proper. Neither Julius Caesar nor Brutus allow love to interfere with their business life ; both make it ' keep quarter.'

There is love in *Antony and Cleopatra*. Bacon says in his essay : ' great Spirits and great Businesse do keepe out this weake Passion. You must except nevertheless *Marcus Antonius*, the halfe Partner of the Empire of *Rome*.' The play shows a ' great Spirit ' ruined by the unrestricted passion of love. The views expressed shortly in the essay are expanded in the play. Antony does not make his love ' keep quarter,' and the result is disaster and ruin to the lovers. In *Antony and Cleopatra* love does mischief ' like a *Syren*,' and the play is an illustration of the views expressed in the essay.

There is no real love in either *Macbeth* or *King Lear*.

In *Hamlet* love is subordinate, it is not the foundation of the plot. Hamlet loves sincerely but moderately ; he makes his love ' keep quarter.' It is his habit of deliberation and procrastination, and not his love for Ophelia,

that causes his great object to fail. The case of Ophelia is different. She loves deeply, and the result of her ' weake Passion ' is suicide.

In *Othello* there is again a full exposition of Bacon's views. Othello is appointed to high military command at the time of his marriage, and does not allow his love to interfere with his duty to the State. His remarks in Act I. Scene iii. are an amplification of the words of the essay. He says :—

> ' And heaven defend your good souls, that you think
> I will your serious and great business scant,
> For she is with me : no, when light-wing'd toys
> Of feather'd Cupid seel with wanton dulness
> My speculative and officed instruments,
> That my disports corrupt and taint my business,
> Let housewives make a skillet of my helm,
> And all indign and base adversities
> Make head against my estimation ! '

It is the jealousy of *Othello*, and not his love, that brings about the catastrophies of the play. In *Othello* love does mischief ' like a *Fury* ' when jealousy is aroused.

The love in *Cymbeline* does not reflect the views expressed in the essay ; still it is not inconsistent with them, and it is quite a subordinate part of the plot.

There is nothing either attractive or sacred in the love of Pericles.

I now take the comedies.

In *The Tempest* the love of Ferdinand and Miranda is of the most beautiful type, and much of the plot turns on it. But love and the business of life are kept separate.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona is again an exposition of Bacon's views. Love is represented as a source of weakness and as spoiling the votary for the pursuits of life. It is ' a folly bought with wit, or else a wit with folly vanquished,' ' by love the young and tender wit is turned to folly ' (Act I. Scene i.).

In the same scene Valentine says to Proteus :—

> ' Love is your master, for he masters you ;
> And he that is so yoked by a fool,
> Methinks, should not be chronicled for wise.'

Finally Proteus says, after Valentine has left the stage :—

> ' I leave myself, my friends, and all, for love.
> Thou, Julia, thou hast metamorphosed me ;
> Made me neglect my studies, lose my time,
> War with good counsel, set the world at nought ;
> Made wit with musing weak, heart sick with thought.'

An instance of a man ' transported to the mad degree of *Love* ' occurs in Act II. Scene i., where Speed says to Valentine :—

> ' You have learned, like Sir Proteus, to wreathe your arms, like a malcontent ; to relish a love-song, like a robin-redbreast ; to walk alone, like one that hath the pestilence ; to sigh, like a schoolboy that had lost his A B C ; to weep, like a young wench that had buried her grandam ; to fast, like one that takes diet ; to watch, like one that fears robbing ; to speak puling, like a beggar at Hallowmas. You were wont, when you laughed, to crow like a cock ; when you walked, to walk like one of the lions ; when you fasted, it was presently after dinner ; when you looked sadly, it was for want of money : and now you are metamorphosed with a mistress, that, when I look on you, I can hardly think you my master.'

An instance of ' the Speaking in a perpetual *Hyperbole* ' is given in Act II. Scene iv., where Proteus says :—

> ' Why, Valentine, what braggardism is this ? '

In Act II. Scene vii. Lucetta advises Julia to make her love ' keep quarter,' where she says :

> ' I do not seek to quench your love's hot fire,
> But qualify the fire's extreme rage,
> Lest it should burn above the bounds of reason.'

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor* love is a jest. Falstaff himself says : ' I do begin to perceive that I am made an ass.' The love of Fenton and Anne Page is genuine, but they are two of the weakest characters in the play.

In *Measure for Measure* is an instance that ' great Spirits, and great Business, doe keepe out this weake Passion.' The Duke is the strongest character in the play. In Act I. Scene iii. he says to Friar Thomas :—

> ' No, holy father ; throw away that thought ;
> Believe not that the dribbling dart of love
> Can pierce a complete bosom.'

The play is an instance of Bacon's remark that 'Wanton *love* Corrupteth and Imbaseth' mankind. Claudio is so debased that in Act III. Scene i. he wished his sister to sacrifice her honour in order to save his life, and Angelo is debased by his wanton love for Isabella.

There is very little love in *The Comedy of Errors*. There is a wooing scene, but it is one of the errors of the comedy.

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act II. Scene iii., Benedick expresses some of Bacon's views on love. He says :—

> 'I do much wonder that one man, seeing how much another man is a fool when he dedicates his behaviours to love, will, after he hath laughed at such shallow follies in others, become the argument of his own scorn by falling in love : and such a man is Claudio. I have known when there was no music with him but the drum and the fife ; and now had he rather hear the tabor and the pipe : I have known when he would have walked ten mile a-foot to see a good armour ; and now will he lie ten nights awake, carving the fashion of a new doublet. He was wont to speak plain and to the purpose, like an honest man and a soldier ; and now he is turned orthography ; his words are a very fantastical banquet, just so many strange dishes. May I be so converted, and see with these eyes ? I cannot tell ; I think not : I will not be sworn but love may transform me to an oyster ; but I 'll take my oath on it, till he have made an oyster of me, he shall never make me such a fool.'

The whole play of *Love's Labour's Lost* is an example of Bacon's statement that love 'if it checke once with Businesse it troubleth Men's Fortunes, and maketh Men, that they can, no ways, be true to their own Ends.'

The King and his three attendants wish to make the Court an academy, and to devote themselves to study. With this object in view they decide to exclude all women from the Court ; but love enters and folly follows. Biron, in Act IV. Scene iii. says :—

> 'O, what a scene of foolery have I seen,
> Of sighs, of groans, of sorrow, and of teen !
> O me, with what strict patience have I sat,
> To see a king transformèd to a gnat !
> To see great Hercules whipping a gig,
> And profound Solomon to tune a jig,
> And Nestor play at push-pin with the boys,
> And critic Timon laugh at idle toys ! '

In Act v. Scene ii. he says to the ladies :—

> ' For your fair sakes have we neglected time,
> Play'd foul play with our oaths : your beauty, ladies,
> Hath much deform'd us, fashioning our humours
> Even to the opposèd end of our intents.'

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* there is no real love. All the lovers are bewitched and are the subjects of charms and magic arts. In Act III. Scene i. Bottom says to Titania :—

> ' Reason and love keep little company together now-a-days ; the more the pity that some honest neighbours will not make them friends.'

In *The Merchant of Venice* there are the most beautiful love scenes, but love is not the main part of the plot. Portia's choice is determined by lottery and Jessica's is a runaway match ; her love makes her a rebellious and undutiful child. She herself says, in Act II. Scene vi. :—

> ' But love is blind and lovers cannot see
> The pretty follies that themselves commit.'

Portia's love is pure, but she does not forget that love and weakness go hand in hand, unless it is made to ' keep quarter.' In Act III. Scene ii. she says :—

> ' O love, be moderate ; allay thy ecstasy ;
> In measure rein thy joy ; scant this excess.
> I feel too much thy blessing : make it less,
> For fear I surfeit.'

There are love scenes in *As You Like It*, but they are either of a rustic order or presented as a comedy. Baconian views run through the play. Orlando's love gets him into a kind of maudlin state, and the hanging of sonnets on the trees of Arden makes the strong man appear ridiculous. Rosalind in Act III. Scene iii. says :—

> ' Love is merely a madness ; and, I tell you, deserves as well a dark house and a whip as madmen do.'

In Act III. Scene v. she says to Silvius, referring to Phebe's scorn for him :—

> ' 'Tis not her glass, but you, that flatters her ;
> And out of you she sees herself more proper
> Than any of her lineaments can show her.'

This last remark agrees with the statement in the essay that ' the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have Intelligence, is a Man's Selfe ; Certainly, the *Lover* is more.'

Touchstone sums up the whole matter in Act II. Scene iv. where he says :—

> ' We that are true lovers run into strange capers ; but as all is mortal in nature, so is all nature in love mortal in folly.'

There is no real love in *The Taming of the Shrew* ; all the love-making is based on self-interest.

In *All's Well that Ends Well* the love of Helena is real, but it is accompanied by folly and weakness. No one of the male characters submits to love, except in its worst form.

In *Twelfth Night* a royal lover makes love by proxy, and eventually marries, not his original choice, but another who has fallen in love with him. The love of Viola is true and beautiful, but that of the other characters is irrational and the results of fortunate blunders.

Bacon in his essay describes love as ' the Childe of Folly.' In Act II. Scene iv. Orsino says :—

> ' For such as I am all true lovers are,
> Unstaid and skittish in all motions else,
> Save in the constant image of the creature
> That is beloved.'

The Winter's Tale provides one of the strongest illustrations of Bacon's views. Florizel is an instance of ' one that hath been transported to the mad degree of *Love*,' of one who esteeming ' too much of Amorous Affection quitteth both *Riches* and *Wisdome*,' of a love that checks business and ' maketh Men, that they can, no ways be true to their own Ends.' Being in love with, as he thinks, a peasant girl, he is willing to give up his birthright and his right of succession to the throne. In Act IV. Scene iv. he says to Perdita :—

> ' Or I 'll be thine, my fair,
> Or not my father's. For I cannot be
> Mine own, nor any thing to any, if
> I be not thine. To this I am most constant,
> Though destiny say no.'

Later on in the same scene he says to Polixenes :—

> ' From my succession wipe me, father ; I
> Am heir to my affection.'

And, in reply to Camillo's remark, ' Be advised,' he adds :—

> ' I am, and by my fancy : if my reason
> Will thereto be obedient, I have reason ;
> If not, my senses, better pleased with madness,
> Do bid it welcome.'

The opinions expressed by Bacon in his ' Essay of Love ' are certainly strange and unusual, but the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays held the same views. The essay was not published till 1612. How could the author or reviser of the plays, if he was not Francis Bacon, have got to know Bacon's opinions so many years previous to their publication ? It is not within the range of probability that two different men could have thought out and held such strange and unusual views on love.

In *Sylva Sylvarum* Bacon states :—

> ' The affections no doubt do make the spirits more powerful and active ; and especially those affections which draw the spirits into the eyes ; which are two, love and envy. . . . And this is observed likewise, that the aspects that procure love, are not gazings, but sudden glances and dartings of the eye.'

There is a Promus note on Folio 108 :—

> ' The ey is the gate of the affection.'

It would appear that Bacon regarded it as a scientific fact that love is engendered in the eyes. The person responsible for the Shakespeare plays held the same opinion.

In *Twelfth Night*, Act 1. Scene v., Olivia, speaking of her sudden love for Viola, says :—

> ' Methinks I feel this youth's perfections,
> With an invisible and subtle stealth,
> To creep in at mine eyes.'

In *Cymbeline*, Act v. Scene v., Cymbeline says to Imogen :—

> ' Thou hast look'd thyself into my grace,
> And art mine own.'

In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I. Scene iii., in reply to the question, 'Can you like Paris' love?' Juliet says :—

> 'I 'll look to like, if looking liking move :
> But no more deep will I endart mine eye
> Than your consent gives strength to make it fly.'

In *The Merchant of Venice*, Act III. Scene ii., is the well-known song :—

> 'Tell me where is fancy bred,
> Or in the heart or in the head ?
> How begot, how nourished ?
> Reply, reply.
> It is engender'd in the eyes,
> With gazing fed ; and fancy dies
> In the cradle where it lies.
> Let us all ring fancy's knell :
> I 'll begin it,—Ding, dong, bell.'

Sylva Sylvarum was written about 1624 and not published till 1627.

Behaviour—

One of Bacon's philosophical maxims is that Behaviour can be assumed, worn, imitated, put on or off as a garment, altered, or varied as circumstances, convenience, policy, or fashion may suggest. The idea is a strange one.

In a letter to the Earl of Rutland he says :—

> 'Behaviour is but a garment.'

In *De Augmentis* he remarks :—

> 'Behaviour is as the garment of the mind, and ought to have the conditions of a garment. For first it ought to be made in fashion ; secondly, it ought not to be too curious or costly ; thirdly, it ought to be so framed as to best set forth any virtue of the mind, and supply and hide any deformity ; lastly, and above all, it ought not to be too strait, so as to confine the mind and interfere with its freedom in business and action.'

The concluding sentence of his 'Essay of Ceremonies and Respects' is :—

> 'Men's Behaviour should be like their Apparel, not too Strait or point Device, but Free for Exercise or Motion.'

This somewhat strange but simple idea is amplified in the plays.

Portia, in *The Merchant of Venice*, Act I. Scene ii., referring to Falconbridge says :—

> 'How oddly he is suited! I think he bought his doublet in Italy, his round hose in France, his bonnet in Germany, and his behaviour everywhere.'

Portia makes Behaviour one of the articles of Falconbridge's wearing apparel.

In *Henry VIII.*, Act I. Scene ii., we have :—

> 'This man so complete,
> . . . . .
> Hath into monstrous habits put the graces
> That once were his, and is become as black
> As if besmear'd in hell.'

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act IV. Scene i., we have:—

> 'And every lovely organ of her life
> Shall come apparell'd in more precious habit,
> More moving-delicate, and full of life,
> Into the eye and prospect of his soul,
> Than when she lived indeed.'

An instance of Madness put on as a garment is given in *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene v. :—

> 'How strange or odd soe'er I bear myself,
> As I perchance hereafter shall think meet
> To put an antic disposition on.'

An instance of State and Pride put on as a garment is given in *Lucrece* :—

> 'Brutus, who pluck'd the knife from Lucrece' side,
> Seeing such emulation in their woe,
> Began to clothe his wit in state and pride,
> Burying in Lucrece' wound his folly's show.'

In the concluding lines of the same poem is an instance of Folly that has been put on and is now thrown off as a garment :—

> 'He with the Romans was esteemed so
> As silly-jeering idiots are with kings,
> For sportive words and uttering foolish things.
>
> But now he throws that shallow habit by,
> Wherein deep policy did him disguise.'

In *Henry V.*, Act II. Scene iv., the Constable of France describes the English King as :—

> ' Covering discretion with a coat of folly.'

An instance of Mirth put on as a garment is in *The Merchant of Venice*, Act II. Scene ii. :—

> ' No that were pity :
> I would entreat you rather to put on
> Your boldest suit of mirth.'

Instances of Humility put on as a garment are in *Coriolanus*, Act II. Scene i. :—

> ' I heard him swear,
> Were he to stand for consul, never would he
> Appear i' the market-place nor on him put
> The napless vesture of humility ' ;

and in *Henry IV.*, Part I. Act III. Scene ii. :—

> ' . . . I stole all courtesy from heaven,
> And dress'd myself in such humility,
> That I did pluck allegiance from men's hearts.'

An instance of Soberness put on as a garment is in *The Merchant of Venice*, Act II. Scene ii., where Gratiano says :—

> ' If I do not put on a sober habit,
> Talk with respect and swear but now and then,
> Wear prayer-books in my pocket, look demurely,
> Nay more, while grace is saying, hood mine eyes
> Thus with my hat, and sigh, and say " amen " ;
> Use all the observance of civility,
> Like one well studied in a sad ostent
> To please his grandam, never trust me more.'

Instances of Virtue put on as a garment to hide Vice are in *The Comedy of Errors*, Act III. Scene ii. :—

> ' Look sweet, speak fair, become disloyalty ;
> Apparel vice like virtue's harbinger ;
> Bear a fair presence, though your heart be tainted ;
> Teach sin the carriage of a holy saint.
> . . . . . .
> Though others have the arm, show us the sleeve ' ;

and in *Hamlet*, Act III. Scene iv. :—

> ' Assume a virtue, if you have it not.
> That monster, custom, who all sense doth eat,
> Of habits devil, is angel yet in this,
> That to the use of actions fair and good
> He likewise gives a frock or livery,
> That aptly is put on.'

An instance of Cynicism put on as a garment is in *Timon of Athens*, Act IV. Scene iii., where Apemantus says to Timon :—

> ' If thou didst put this sour-cold habit on
> To castigate thy pride, 'twere well : but thou
> Dost it enforcedly ; thou 'ldst courtier be again,
> Wert thou not beggar.'

An instance of Content put on as a garment is in *Othello*, Act III. Scene iv., where Cassio says :—

> ' So shall I clothe me in a forced content,
> And shut myself up in some other course,
> To fortune's alms.'

An instance of the many kinds of garments put on by Love is in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act V. Scene ii. :—

> ' Full of strange shapes, of habits, and of forms,
> Varying in subjects, as the eye doth roll
> To every varied object in his glance :
> Which parti-coated presence of loose love,
> Put on by us, if, in your heavenly eyes,
> Have misbecomed our oaths and gravities,
> Those heavenly eyes, that look into these faults,
> Suggested us to make.'

In *Measure for Measure*, Act IV. Scene ii., is the following passage :—

> ' Every true man's apparel fits your thief : if it be too little for your thief, your true man thinks it big enough ; if it be too big for your thief, your thief thinks it little enough ; so every true man's apparel fits your thief.'

This strange passage can be explained by Bacon's philosophy of Behaviour.

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act IV. Scene i., Benedick says to Leonato :—

> ' For my part, I am so attired in wonder,
> I know not what to say.'

Other instances in the plays of various Behaviours being ' put on ' as a garment is put on are too numerous to be mentioned in these Notes.

This primary idea of Behaviour being as a garment leads to another—a kind of offshoot as it were. As Behaviour is likened to the garment a man wears, it follows that he cannot see or get knowledge of his own behaviour except by means of the reflection of himself in a glass or mirror, by the criticism of his true friends, or by observing a person who imitates him. Behaviour and dress are regulated by imitation. Without realising it we imitate those with whom we associate. Those who are inferior dress both in garments and behaviour like their betters, and those who set the fashion are the glass or mirror before which others dress and form their behaviour.

There is a Promus note (570) :—

' A man's customs are the moulds where his fortune is cast,'

and another (1474) :—

' Il n'y a meilleur mirroir que le viel amye.'

The opening sentence of Bacon's ' Essay of Praise ' is :—

' Praise is the reflection of virtue. But it is glass or body which giveth the reflection.'

In a letter to Coke we find :—

' Like a true friend to show you your true shape in a glass, and that not in a false one to flatter you, nor yet in one that should make you seem worse than you are, and so offend you ; but in one made by the reflection of your own words and actions.'

In the *Advancement of Learning* we have :—

' And the more aptly is the mind of a wise man compar'd to a glass or mirror, because in a glass his own image may be seen together with the images of others, which eyes cannot do of themselves without a glass.'

' The mind as a mirror or glass should take illumination from the foreknowledge of God and spirits.'

' God hath framed the mind of man as a mirror or glass capable of the images of the universal world.'

There are several references in the Shakespeare plays

to the glass or mirror, but I will only mention the following

In *Henry IV.*, Part II. Act II. Scene iii., Lady Percy says :—

> 'He was indeed the glass
> Wherein the noble youth did dress themselves :
> He had no legs that practised not his gait ;
> And speaking thick, which nature made his blemish,
> Became the accents of the valiant ;
> For those that could speak low and tardily
> Would turn their own perfection to abuse,
> To seem like him : so that in speech, in gait,
> In diet, in affections of delight,
> In military rules, humours of blood,
> He was the mark and glass, copy and book,
> That fashion'd others.'

In *Hamlet*, Act III. Scene i., Ophelia describes Hamlet as :—

> 'The glass of fashion and the mould of form,
> The observed of all observers.'

In Act III. Scene ii. Hamlet in instructing the players tells them that the art of an actor is :—

> 'To hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature ; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure.'

I take it that Hamlet's meaning is, that the art of a good actor is to reflect accurately to his audience, as in a mirror, the actions and behaviours of the characters he is representing.

In Act V. Scene ii. Hamlet, in answer to the fulsome description that Osric has given of Laertes, says :—

> 'I take him to be a soul of great article ; and his infusion of such dearth and rareness, as, to make true diction of him, his semblance is his mirror ; and who else would trace him, his umbrage, nothing more.'

All these last three extracts from *Hamlet* were in the Quarto edition of 1604. The first edition of *The Advancement of Learning* was published in 1605, the 'Essay of Praise' was first published in 1612, and *De Augmentis* was not published till 1623. Can the Shaksperians explain how these unusual and essentially Baconian thoughts appeared in *Hamlet* in 1604 ?

Wonder—

What I may call Bacon's Philosophy of Wonder may be shortly described as follows.

Wonder is the cause of philosophic inquiry. There is a Promus note (227) :—

'Super mirari coeperunt philosophari,'

that is :—

'After wondering men begin to philosophise,'

or in other words :—

'Knowledge begins when wonder ceases.'

In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon says :—

'Wonder is the seed of knowledge.'

In order for anything to cause wonder it must be rare ; if it is common or familiar it does not cause wonder. Miracles and wonders are phenomena whose cause is not known. A phenomenon may at first appear to be a wonder, but philosophical inquiry may discover its natural cause and it then ceases to be a wonder. This explains the somewhat cryptic speech of the Second Counsellor in the Device performed at Gray's Inn in 1594, already mentioned :—

'When your Excellency shall have added depth of knowledge to the fineness of your spirits and the greatness of your power, then indeed shall you be a Trismegistus; and then when all other miracles and wonders shall cease, by reason that you shall have discovered their natural causes, yourself shall be left, the only miracle and wonder of the world.'

This philosophy of Wonder is reproduced in the Shakespeare plays, the word 'admiration'—from the Latin 'admiratio'—being often used, as it is in Bacon's acknowledged prose works, as a synonym for 'wonder.' Many instances could be given, but I only mention a few.

In *Cymbeline*, Act v. Scene v., 'a mark of wonder' is used for the purposes of identification, the mark being something 'rare' and uncommon.

'Guiderius had
Upon his neck a mole, a sanguine star ;
It was a mark of wonder.'

Why a mole should be called ' a mark of wonder ' can only be explained by Bacon's philosophy.

Other instances of the Wonder caused by rarity are found in the speech of the Prince in *Henry IV.*, Part I. Act I. Scene ii., beginning with the line :—

> ' Yet herein will I imitate the sun.'

And in the speech of the King in the same play, Act III. Scene ii. lines 39 to 80.

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V. Scene i., we have :—

> ' Gentles, perchance you wonder at this show :
> But wonder on, till truth make all things plain.'

In *As You Like It*, Act V. Scene iv., is :—

> ' Whiles a wedlock-hymn we sing,
> Feed yourselves with questioning,
> That reason wonder may diminish.'

The dissipation of Wonder by the advent of knowledge is also referred to in *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act II. Scene i. :—

> ' Bring in the admiration ; that we, with thee
> May spend our wonder too, or take off thine
> By wondering how thou took'st it.'

In the same play, Act II. Scene iii., Lafeu says :—

> ' They say miracles are past ; and we have our philosophical persons, to make modern and familiar things supernatural and causeless.'

Horatio in *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene ii., referring to the appearance of the Ghost, says :—

> ' Season your admiration for a while
> With an attent ear, till I may deliver,
> Upon the witness of these gentlemen,
> This marvel to you.'

In the Quarto edition of 1604 the word ' wonder ' was used instead of the word ' marvel ' in the last line of the above quotation.

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act V. Scene iv., we have :—

> ' Meanwhile, let wonder seem familiar,
> And to the chapel let us presently.'

Without the explanation given by Bacon's philosophy the phrase 'let wonder seem familiar' would be hard to understand.

Bacon's *Philosophy of Wonder and Rarity* was not published till 1620, that is four years after the death of Shaksper of Stratford. How is it that these characteristic Baconian thoughts appear in the plays if they were not added by Bacon when he revised them?

R. M. Theobald,[1] speaking of Bacon's philosophy of Wonder, says :—

> 'Bacon's most characteristic ideas find their best, their amplest expression, not in Bacon's prose, but in Shakespeare's poetry. The crude, technical, scientific exposition of the theory is to be found in the prose: while the larger and more varied application of the theory,—the theory set in many lights and colours, as it is seen reflected in the multiplying and transforming mirror of a poet's mind,—is seen in Shakespeare. . . . In the prose the speaker keeps on the solid ground of science and philosophy, . . . but in the poetry he carries the same thoughts into higher regions.'

Hope—

Bacon's views on Hope were also somewhat unusual. Among them may be mentioned the idea that Hope prolongs life.

In his *History of Life and Death* he says :—

> 'Hope is of all affections the most useful, and contributes most to prolong life, if it be not too often disappointed, but feed the imagination with the prospect of good.'

The person responsible for the plays also held this view.

The Queen in *Richard II.*, Act II. Scene ii., says :—

> 'I will despair, and be at enmity
> With cozening hope: he is a flatterer,
> A parasite, a keeper back of death,
> Who gently would dissolve the bands of life,
> Which false hope lingers in extremity.'

In *Henry VI.*, Part III. Act IV. Scene iv., Queen Elizabeth says :—

> 'Till then, fair hope must hinder life's decay.'

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[1] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

The *History of Life and Death* was published for the first time in 1623; that is seven years after the death of Shaksper of Stratford. The line from *Henry VI.*, Part III., 'Till then fair hope must hinder life's decay' was not in any of the Quarto editions of *The True Tragedy*; it was an addition made when the play was revised for the purpose of publication in the First Folio.

Horticulture—

Bacon seems to have had some ideas in regard to Horticulture similar to what is now called the Rotation of Crops. In *Sylva Sylvarum* he says :—

> 'Wheresoever one plant draweth such a particular juice out of the earth as it qualifieth the earth, so as that juice which remaineth is fit for the other plant, there the neighbourhood doeth good, because the nourishments are contrary or several: but where two plants draw much the same juice then the neighbourhood hurteth.'

His idea would seem to be this. When one plant lives on and consumes certain qualities of the soil, it flourishes best if neighbouring plants do not live on and consume the same qualities.

In *Henry V.*, Act I. Scene i., the Bishop of Ely remarks :—

> 'The strawberry grows underneath the nettle,
> And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best
> Neighbour'd by fruit of baser quality.'

The use of the words 'neighbourhood' and 'neighbour'd' in the above extracts should be noticed.

As stated before, *Sylva Sylvarum* was written about the year 1624, but it was not published till 1627; that is eleven years after the death of Shaksper of Stratford.

War—

Bacon considered that a foreign war was good for a state. In his 'Essay of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates' he says :—

> 'No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body, nor politic: And certainly, to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war, is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like

the heat of a fever; but a foreign war, is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health: For in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate, and manners corrupt.'

In *Henry IV.*, Part II. Act IV. Scene v., the King, speaking of the policy he had intended to employ with regard to his subjects, says he

> 'had a purpose now
> To lead out many to the Holy Land,
> Lest rest and lying still might make them look
> Too near unto my state. Therefore, my Harry,
> Be it thy course to busy giddy minds
> With foreign quarrels; that action, hence borne out,
> May waste the memory of the former days.'

In *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act I. Scene ii., the Second Lord, referring to the King's consent for his followers to serve in the Tuscan service, says :—

> 'It well may serve
> A nursery to our gentry, who are sick
> For breathing and exploit.'

In the same play, Act III. Scene i., the First Lord, referring to the war, says :—

> 'But I am sure the younger of our nature,
> That surfeit on their ease, will day by day
> Come here for physic.'

Nature and Art—

Bacon held unusual views about Nature and Art. On this subject R. M. Theobald [1] says :—

'We in this nineteenth century are accustomed to think of the works or effects of Art as being merely the result of bringing human faculties to work in the moulding or application of the matter and force supplied by Nature. But Bacon tells us that, up to his time, Art and Nature had been contrasted as different from one another: and when he set down the 'History of the Arts' as a species of Natural History, he considered that he was running counter to prevalent opinion.'

He quotes the following words of Bacon :—

'I am the rather induced to set down the history of arts as a species of natural history, because it is the fashion to talk as if art were

[1] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

something different from nature, so that things artificial should be separated from things natural, as differing totally in kind. . . . Whereas men ought on the contrary to have a settled conviction, that things artificial differ from things natural, not in form or essence, but only in the efficient ; that man has in truth no power over nature except that of motion . . . the rest is done by nature working within.'

Exactly the same view is expressed by the person responsible for the plays in *The Winter's Tale*, Act IV. Scene iii., where Polixenes says to Perdita :—

> ' Yet nature is made better by no mean,
> But nature makes that mean : so, over that art
> Which you say adds to nature, is an art
> That nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry
> A gentler scion to the wildest stock,
> And make conceive a bark of baser kind
> By bud of nobler race : this is an art
> Which does mend nature, change it rather, but
> The art itself is nature.'

R. M. Theobald remarks that this quotation is all the more significant because it is placed in immediate relation with the remarkable list of flowers which is so curiously identical with the same list, similarly grouped, and similarly classified in Bacon's ' Essay of Gardens ' published in 1625. Spedding, commenting on this essay, says :—

> ' The scene in the *Winter's Tale* where Perdita presents the guests with flowers suited to their ages, has some expressions, which if this Essay had been contained in the earlier edition would have made me suspect that Shakespeare [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford] had been reading it.'

Here is an instance of Baconian expressions and views appearing in a play which, if Shaksper of Stratford was the author, must have been written at least nine years before they were published in Bacon's acknowledged writings.

The Comfort of Contemplation—

After his fall Bacon sought solace in many ways ; such as, in religion, in literary work, in friendship, and in the Philosophy of Contemplation. This method of obtaining comfort by Contemplation is both singular and characteristic. He found relief by a sense of fellowship with great men who had suffered in the same way that he had. By

an effort of imagination he summoned to his presence the dead whose griefs had been similar to his own, and he found comfort in their society. In 1622, after his fall, he wrote a Discourse touching a Holy War, and in the Dedication to Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, he said :—

> ' My Lord,—Amongst consolations it is not the least to represent to a man's self like examples of calamity in others. For examples give a quicker impression than argument ; and besides, they certify us that which the Scriptures also tendereth for satisfaction, that no new thing is happened unto us. This they do the better by how much the examples are liker in circumstances to our own case ; and more especially if they fall upon persons that are greater and worthier than ourselves. For as it savoureth of vanity, to match ourselves highly in our own conceit ; so on the other side it is a good, sound conclusion, that if our betters have sustained the like events, we have the less cause to be grieved.
>
> ' In this kind of consolation I have not been wanting to myself ; though as a Christian I have tasted (through God's great goodness) of higher remedies.'

Bacon's method of obtaining Consolation by contemplating the sorrows of others is most unusual ; but the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays and the author of *Lucrece* was a man of the same type of mind. I give a few extracts that show this.

Edgar, in his speech at the end of Act III. Scene vi. of *King Lear*, says :—

> ' When we our betters see bearing our woes,
> We scarcely think our miseries our foes.
> Who alone suffers suffers most i' the mind,
> Leaving free things and happy shows behind :
> But then the mind much sufferance doth o'erskip,
> When grief hath mates, and bearing fellowship.
> How light and portable my pain seems now,
> When that which makes me bend makes the king bow ;
> He childed as I fathered.'

This speech is an expansion of the ideas expressed in Bacon's letter. It was in the First Quarto edition of 1608, and was therefore written fourteen years before the letter.

In *Pericles*, Act I. Scene iv., Cleon says :—

> ' My Dionyza, shall we rest us here,
> And by relating tales of others' griefs,
> See if 'twill teach us to forget our own ? '

In *Richard II.*, Act III. Scene ii., the King says :—

> ' Of comfort no man speak :
> . . . . . .
> For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground
> And tell sad stories of the death of kings.'

In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I. Scene ii., Benvolio says to Romeo :—

> ' One pain is lessen'd by another's anguish.
> . . . . . .
> One desperate grief cures with another's languish.'

Lucrece in her misery says :—

> ' So should I have co-partners in my pain ;
> And fellowship in woe doth woe assuage,
> As palmers' chat makes short their pilgrimage.'

The last line of this extract is a reflection of the note on Folio 104 of the Promus : ' Varioque viam sermone levabat.'

In *Lucrece* we also have :—

> ' Being from the feeling of her own grief brought
> By deep surmise of others' detriment ;
> Losing her woes in shows of discontent.
> It easeth some, though none it ever cured,
> To think their doulour others have endured.'

The same idea is found in *Richard II.*, Act V. Scene v., where the King refers to beggars :—

> ' Who sitting in the stocks, refuge their shame,
> That many have, and others must sit there ;
> And in this thought they find a kind of ease,
> Bearing their own misfortunes on the back
> Of such as have before endured the like.'

In *The Tempest*, Act II. Scene i., Gonzalo, endeavouring to console Alonso for the loss of his ship, says :—

> ' Our hint of woe
> Is common ; every day some sailor's wife,
> The masters of some merchant, and the merchant,
> Have just our theme of woe.'

It is very strange, I should say it is quite impossible, that Shaksper of Stratford should have held the same unusual views that Bacon held as to obtaining comfort by Contemplation ; which views, as far as I know, Bacon did not announce till after his fall and six years after Shaksper of Stratford's death.

REASON 9

A large number of words, phrases, and terms contained in the Promus, and a large number of peculiar words, phrases, and terms used in Bacon's acknowledged prose writings appear in the plays.

BACON kept a notebook that is called the 'Promus of Formularies and Elegances.' It is in his handwriting and is now in the British Museum. It is believed to have been written about 1594 to 1596; for the folios are numbered from 83 to 133, and Folio 85 is dated Dec. 5th, 1594, and Folio 114, Jan. 27th, 1595. It contains a number of notes and hints made apparently for future literary use, and consists of proverbs in English, French, Spanish, and Italian, texts from the Bible, quotations from Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Seneca, and Erasmus, and odds and ends of all sorts; such as, morning and evening salutations, single words and turns of speech, previously unknown or little used. Few of the subjects of these notes were used by any other author previous to or contemporary with Bacon. Spedding did not publish this collection of Bacon's private notes because he could make nothing of them in connection with Bacon's prose works. However, they appear in the Shakespeare plays and poems about 3000 times, sometimes quoted almost verbatim, and sometimes amplified.

The following are a few instances. I place first the Promus note and the number of the folio on which it appears, and beneath it the extract or extracts from the plays or poems corresponding to it.

It has been said that in making these notes Bacon was merely 'cataloguing the common place.' To a certain extent this is true; but I do not see that it in any way affects the deductions that are to be drawn from them.

No claim is made that the Promus notes are notes of Bacon's original thoughts. Although they may be 'common place,' they are 'common place' that struck his mind and suggested to him some further thought, so he jotted them down as reminders for future use.

'Consciencia mille testes,' 84 and 104.

Richard III., Act v. Scene ii. :—

'Every man's conscience is a thousand swords,
To fight against that bloody homicide.'

Richard III., Act v. Scene iii. :—

'My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain.'

'For the moonshine in the water,' 96.

Love's Labour's Lost, Act v. Scene ii. :—

'O vain petitioner! beg a greater matter;
Thou now request'st but moonshine in the water.'

The Winter's Tale, Act iv. Scene iv. :—

'I think so too; for never gazed the moon
Upon the water as he 'll stand and read
As 'twere my daughter's eyes.'

Venus and Adonis, line 491 :—

'But hers, [*i.e.* her eyes] which through the crystal tears gave light,
Shone like the moon in water seen by night.'

'A fooles bolt is soon shott,' 85.

Bacon in a letter to Essex says :—

'I will shoot my fool's bolt, since you will have it so.'

Henry V., Act iii. Scene vii. :—

'You are the better at proverbs, by how much "A fool's bolt is soon shot."'

As You Like It, Act v. Scene iv. :—

'Duke S. By my faith, he is very swift and sententious.
Touch. According to the fool's bolt, sir, and such dulcet diseases.'

'God sendeth fortune to fooles,' 92.

As You Like It, Act II. Scene vii. :—

'Good morrow, fool,' quoth I. 'No, sir,' quoth he,
'Call me not fool till heaven hath sent me fortune.'

'Spes alit exules,' 94.

In the 'Essay of Truth' Bacon says :—

'Doth any man doubt, that if there be taken out of men's minds, vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations as one would, and the like, but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor, shaken things, full of melancholy and indispositions, and unpleasing to themselves.'

In *Richard II.*, Act I. Scene iii., when Bolingbroke has been exiled, Gaunt gives him many instances of the nourishment provided to exiles by 'flattering hopes, false valuations, and imaginations of things as one would'; and in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act III. Scene i., when Valentine has been exiled, Proteus says to him :—

'Hope is a lover's staff; walk hence with that
And manage it against despairing thoughts.'

'Allwaies let leasers have their woordes,' 103.

Titus Andronicus, Act III. Scene i. :—

'Then give me leave, for losers will have leave
To ease their stomachs with their bitter tongues.'

Henry VI., Part II. Act III. Scene i. :—

'But I can give the loser leave to chide.'

'Haile of Perle,' 101.

Antony and Cleopatra, Act II. Scene v. :—

'I 'll set thee in a shower of gold, and hail
Rich pearls upon thee.'

'Love me little love me long,' 103.

Romeo and Juliet, Act II. Scene vi. :—

'Love moderately; long love doth so.'

' Beware of the vinegar of sweet wyne,' 94.
' The vinegar of sweet wyne,' 102.

In a letter to Villiers Bacon writes :—

' For as his Majesty first conceived, I would not have it stay in his stomach too long, lest it sour in digestion.'

In the Charge against Somerset he says :—

' It is a principle in nature that the best things are in their corruption the worst, and the sweetest wine makes the sharpest vinegar.'

A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act II. Scene ii. :—

' A surfeit of the sweetest things
The deepest loathing to the stomach brings.'

Richard II., Act I. Scene iii. :—

' Things sweet to taste prove in digestion sour.'

Richard II., Act III. Scene ii. :—

' Sweet love, I see, changing his property,
Turns to the sourest and most deadly hate.'

Lucrece, line 867 :—

' The sweets we wish for turn to loathed sours
Even in the moment that we call them ours.'

' Mentiunter multa cantores (few pleasing speeches true),' 94.

In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon writes :—

' Poetry is nothing else but feigned history.'

Twelfth Night, Act I. Scene v. :—

' Vio. 'Tis poetical.
Oli. It is the more like to be feigned.'

As You Like It, Act III. Scene iii. :—

' The truest poetry is the most feigning.'

' Jack would be a gentleman if he could speak french,' 96.
' Thear is no good accord
whear every one would be a lord,' 103.

Richard III., Act I. Scene iii. :—

' The world is grown so bad,
That wrens make prey where eagles dare not perch ;
Since every Jack became a gentleman,
There 's many a gentle person made a Jack.'

'That the eye seeth not the heart rueth not,' 103.

Othello, Act III. Scene iii. :—

'Let him not know 't, and he 's not robb'd at all.'

'All is well that endes well,' 103.

This note must have been written previous to January 27, 1595. Halliwell-Phillipps[1] says that it is in 1623, when the First Folio was published, that we first hear indisputably of the play of *All's Well that Ends Well*. Why should Bacon have noted down in his notebook the title of a play that if it was ever written by Shaksper of Stratford had not even been heard of in 1595 ?

'He that pardons his enemy the amner shall have his goodes,' 95.

In *De Augmentis*, Bacon says :—

'None of the virtues has so many crimes to answer for as clemency.'

'He that has mercy on his enemy has none on himself.'

'Solomon wisely adds, that the mercies of the wicked are cruel. Such is the sparing to use the sword of justice upon wicked and guilty men ; which kind of mercy is more cruel than cruelty itself ; for cruelty is only practised upon individual persons, but this mercy to crime, by granting impunity, arms and lets loose upon the innocent the whole army of villains.'

Writing to Buckingham he says :—

'Mercy in such a case, in a king, is true cruelty.'

Lucrece, line 1686 :—

'Yet let the traitor die ;
For sparing justice feeds iniquity.'

Measure for Measure, Act II. Scene i. :—

'JUST. Lord Angelo is severe.
ESCAL. It is but needful :
Mercy is not itself, that oft looks so ;
Pardon is still the nurse of second woe.'

Romeo and Juliet, Act III. Scene i. :—

'Mercy but murders, pardoning those that kill.'

Timon of Athens, Act III. Scene v. :—

'Nothing emboldens sin so much as mercy.'

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[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

'Bis ac ter pulchra,' 87.

The method of increasing the import of words by such terms as 'twice,' 'thrice,' 'double,' and 'treble' is frequent in Bacon's writings.

The Tempest, Act v. Scene i. :—

'What a thrice-double ass
Was I, to take this drunkard for a god.'

Twelfth Night, Act v. Scene i. :—

'Thrice-welcome, drowned Viola.'

A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act i. Scene i. :—

'Thrice-blessed they, that master so their blood.'

The Merchant of Venice, Act iii. Scene ii. :—

'So, thrice-fair lady, stand I ever so.'

Richard II., Act ii. Scene ii. :—

'Thrice-gracious queen.'

Henry V., Act i. Scene ii. :—

'My thrice-puissant liege.'

Measure for Measure, Act iii. Scene ii. :—

'Twice treble shame on Angelo.'

Many other instances could be given.

The following notes are in sequence in Folio 87 :—

'Hear me out. You were never in.'
'Yow judg before you understand. I judg as I understand.'
'You goe from the matter; but it was to folow you.'
'Come to the poynt; why I shall not find yow thear.'
'You doe not understand ye poynt. for if I did.'
'Let me make an end of my tale. That which I will say will make an end of it.'
'You take more then is graunted. You graunt lesse then is prooved.'
'You speak colorably. You may not say truly.'
'That is not so by your favour. But by my reason it is so.'
'It is so I will warrant yow. yow may warrant me but I thinke I shall not vowche yow.'
'Answere directly. yow mean as you may direct me.'
'Answere me shortly. yea that yow may coment upon it.'
'The cases will come together. It wilbe to fight then.'

The following notes are in Folio 126 :—

'A mery world when such fellows must correct. A mery world when the simplest may correct.'

'It is not the first untruth I have heard reported nor it is not ye first truth I have heard denied.'

Bacon jotted down in these folios of his notebook a sequence of terse and appropriate repartees; the repartees consisting frequently of a readjustment of the words used in the original remarks Similar repartees are to be found in the plays.

In *Julius Caesar*, Act v. Scene iii., Titinius says :—

'Mistrust of my success hath done this deed.'

To which Messala replies :—

'Mistrust of good success hath done this deed.'

In *Richard II.*, Act III. Scene iii., Bolingbroke says to York :—

'Mistake not, uncle, further than you should.'

To which York replies :—

'Take not, good cousin, further than you should.'

Later on in the same scene Bolingbroke says to the king :—

'My gracious lord, I come but for my own.'

To which the king replies :—

'Your own is yours, and I am yours, and all.'

In *As You Like It*, Act II. Scene iv., Celia says :—

'I pray you, bear with me ; I cannot go no further.'

To which Touchstone replies :—

'For my part, I had rather bear with you than bear you.'

In the same play, Act IV. Scene i., in reply to Orlando's remark :—

'For ever and a day.'

Rosalind says :—

'Say "a day" without the "ever."'

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act II. Scene iii., Benedick says :—

'Fair Beatrice, I thank you for your pains.'

To which Beatrice replies :—

'I took no more pains for those thanks than you take pains to thank me.'

'Happy man, happy dole,' 103.

The Merry Wives of Windsor, Act III. Scene iv. :—

'Happy man be his dole.'

'Of sufferance cometh ease,' 105.

Henry IV., Part II. Act v. Scene iv. :—

'Well, of sufferance comes ease.'

'Frigus adurit,' 124.

In his *Natural History* Bacon says :—

'Sharp and violent cold produceth a kind of tingling like unto burning. The Northern winds sharp penetrating cold burneth.'

Hamlet, Act III. Scene iv. :—

'Since frost itself as actively doth burn.'

'Pride will have a fall,' 103.

Richard II., Act v. Scene v. :—

'Pride must have a fall.'

'Better come to the ending of a feast than to the beginning of a fray,' 103.

Henry IV., Part I. Act IV. Scene ii. :—

'The latter end of a fray and the beginning of a feast
Fits a dull fighter and a keen guest.'

'Good wine needs no bush,' 93.

Epilogue to *As You Like It* :—

'If it be true that good wine needs no bush, 'tis true that a good play needs no epilogue.'

'They that are bound must obey,' 103.

Richard II., Act III. Scene iii. :—

'For do we must what force will have us do.'

'Tell a lie to know a truth,' 95.

Hamlet, Act II. Scene i. :—

'Your bait of falsehood takes this carp of truth.'

' Out of God's blessing into the warme sun,' 96.

King Lear, Act II. Scene ii. :—

' Thou out of heaven's benediction comest
To the warm sun ! '

This entry in the Promus is clearly taken from Lyly's *Euphues*. In the *Euphues* the passage is :—

' Thou shalt come out of a warme sun into God's blessing.'

Bacon in entering the proverb in his notebook reversed the order and wrote it down :—

' Out of God's blessing into the warme sun.'

The remark of Kent in the play of *King Lear* is in the same order as the note in the Promus. This shows that the person responsible for the play drew the remark of Kent from the Promus note and not from Lyly's *Euphues*.

' Sensit enim simulata voce locutam,' 104.

A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act I. Scene i. :—

' Thou hast by moonlight at her window sung,
With feigning voice, verses of feigning love.'

This Promus note is another instance of a change made by Bacon. The note is taken from Virgil's *Æneid*, but Virgil uses the words ' simulata mente,' which Bacon changes into ' simulata voce ' (with feigning voice).

This shows that the person responsible for the play drew his idea from Bacon's Promus note and not from Virgil.

' Delivered—unwrapped,' 126.

This entry shows that Bacon meant the word ' delivered ' to be used with the meaning of ' unwrapped,' or its synonyms ' unfolded ' or ' disclosed.' The following extracts show that the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays used the word ' delivered ' with the same meaning.

Twelfth Night, Act I. Scene ii. :—

' O that I served that lady
And might not be delivered to the world,
Till I had made mine own occasion mellow.'

Twelfth Night, Act I. Scene v. :—

'Sure, you have some hideous matter to deliver.'

Measure for Measure, Act IV. Scene ii. :—

'Let this be duly performed, with a thought that more depends on it than we must yet deliver.'

The Winter's Tale, Act V. Scene ii. :—

'I was by at the opening of the fardel, heard the old shepherd deliver the manner how he found it.'

Henry IV., Part I. Act I. Scene iii. :—

'Those prisoners in your highness' name demanded,
Which Harry Percy here at Holmedon took,
Were, as he says, not with such strength denied
As is delivered to your majesty.'

Othello, Act I. Scene iii. :—

'I will a round unvarnish'd tale deliver
Of my whole course of love.'

Pericles, Act V. Scene i. :—

'My mother was the daughter of a king;
Who died the minute I was born,
As my good nurse Lychorida hath oft
Deliver'd weeping.'

'Banding (Factions),' 126.

The word 'Factions' in brackets shows that Bacon's mind coupled the word 'Banding' with 'Factions.' The word is only used once in the plays, according to the Shakespeare Concordance, and that is in *Henry VI.*, Part I. Act III. Scene i., where we have :—

'The bishop and the Duke of Gloucester's men,
Forbidden late to carry any weapon,
Have fill'd their pockets full of pebble stones
And banding themselves in contrary parts
Do pelt so fast at one another's pate
That many have their giddy brains knock'd out:
Our windows are broke down in every street
And we for fear compell'd to shut our shops.'

The only time in which the word 'Banding' is used in the plays is in a description of a fight between factions.

'A thorn is gentle when it is young,' 93.

Henry VI., Part III. Act v. Scene v. :—

'What! can so young a thorn begin to prick?'

'Black will take no other hue,' 83 and 86.

Titus Andronicus, Act iv. Scene ii. :—

'Coal-black is better than another hue,
In that it scorns to bear another hue.'

'Diluculo surgere saluberrimum est,' 112.

Twelfth Night, Act ii. Scene iii. :—

'Not to be a-bed after midnight is to be up betimes; and "diluculo surgere," thou knowest—'

'Nil malo illos similes esse suj et me mej,' 108.

This may be translated :—

'I desire no more than that they should be like themselves, and I like myself.'

The idea of a person being like himself is frequently expressed by Bacon. In a letter to Lady Burleigh, written in 1580, he says :—

'My thankful and serviceable mind shall be always like itself.'

In advising James I. he says :—

'I am still of opinion that above all things your Majesty should not descend below yourself.'

In the Charge against Owen he says of the King :—

'He leaveth them to be like themselves, and remaineth like himself.'

Richard II., Act ii. Scene i. :—

'The king is not himself, but basely led
By flatterers.'

Henry IV., Part I. Act iii. Scene ii. :—

'I shall hereafter, my thrice-gracious lord,
Be more myself.'

Henry V., Prologue to Act i. :—

'Then should the warlike Harry, like himself,
Assume the port of Mars.'

Henry VI., Part III. Act III. Scene iii. :—

'Whate'er it be, be thou like thyself.'

Henry VIII., Act II. Scene iv. :—

'I do profess
You speak not like yourself.'

Antony and Cleopatra, Act II. Scene ii. :—

'I shall entreat him
To answer like himself.'

'Qui prest a l'ami, perd au double,' 130 and 131.

Hamlet, Act I. Scene iii. :—

'Neither a borrower nor a lender be ;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.'

Edwin Reed[1] gives the following illustration of the use made of Bacon's notebook by the person responsible for the plays :—

Promus.	Romeo and Juliet.
Rome.	Romeo.
Good morrow.	Good morrow.
Sweet for speech in the morning.	What early tongue so sweet saluteth me.
Early rising.	So soon to bid good morrow to thy bed.
Lodged next.	Where care lodges sleep will never come.
Golden sleep.	There golden sleep doth reign.
Uprouse.	Thou art uproused by some distemperature.

The above seven extracts from the Promus occur close together. The seven corresponding quotations from *Romeo and Juliet* occur in eleven consecutive lines near the beginning of Act II. Scene iii. 'Golden sleep' was a new simile. 'Uprouse' was a new word ; the only example of its use given in Richardson's *Dictionary* is the quotation from *Romeo and Juliet* referred to above.

On Folio 111, commencing with note 1189, are a series of what Spedding calls 'forms of morning and evening

[1] *Bacon* v. *Shakespeare.*

salutation'; such as, 'Good-morrow,' 'Good swoear' (*i.e.* Good soir), 'Good betimes,' 'Bon iour,' and 'Good day.'

Commenting on this folio Mrs. Pott in *Bacon's Promus* says :—

> 'It does appear—surprising as this may seem—to contain notes for forms of salutation until then unused in England, but now so common that it is hard to realize that they were, so far as can be ascertained, unknown here three hundred years ago. The forms "Good-morrow," "Good-night," "Bon-jour" now seem so commonplace that without these notes to draw our attention to them it would probably not strike any one that they were new in the time of Shakespeare, still less that they were of Bacon's introduction. Yet this appears to be the case. Inquiries have been instituted in many quarters, and the dramatic literature previous to and contemporary with Shakespeare has been carefully gone through; but although these and other forms of expression noted in Folio 111 are introduced into almost every play of Shakespeare, they certainly were not in common use until many years after the publication of these plays. . . .
>
> 'Since five out of the eight forms of salutation which figure in these pages are from foreign languages, and since the English are only translations of some of these, it appears most probable that Bacon, on returning to his native country after three years stay in France, missed, or at least perceived the advantages of, the more polished and graceful modes of speech to which he had become accustomed on the Continent, and that he adopted and endeavoured to make popular the forms which he noted.'

The frequent appearance of Promus words and phrases in the Shakespeare plays brings us to two alternatives. The first is that Shaksper of Stratford wrote the plays and that Bacon on attending their performance was so struck with some of the words and phrases spoken on the stage that he jotted them down in his notebook for future use in his literary work. The other is that Bacon in revising the plays used the Promus notes as a store from which he could draw.

The first suggestion is, of course, ridiculous; for Bacon made little or no use of the Promus notes in his prose works, and many of the words and phrases were entered in the Promus long before some of the plays in which the words and phrases appeared were written. Moreover, it is not reasonable to suggest that Bacon on hearing some

passage in a play would have jotted down in his notebook an extract from Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Erasmus, or the Bible, or an English, French, Spanish, or Italian proverb as a note of the passage.

As I have stated, the following remark is in *Othello*, Act I. Scene iii. :—

'I will a round unvarnished tale deliver.'

It is not within the range of probability that Bacon jotted down the words on Folio 126—'Delivered—unwrapped'—as a note of this remark.

In this section of my Notes I have only given the simplest instances of the use made in the plays of the entries in the Promus, namely, where they are practically reproduced. Mrs. Henry Pott in her book, *Bacon's Promus*, shows that much greater use was made of them than this. Some of the instances given have been criticised, but although the book was published in 1883 no effort as far as I know has ever been made to answer her general argument.

Mrs. Pott says that Bacon :—

'Had, as Mr. Spedding points out, a system of taking notes and of making slightly inaccurate quotations intentionally, and apparently with the view of bringing out some point which suggested to him a train of thought beyond or different from that which the author intended.'

I think Bacon's mind worked somewhat as follows. He introduced a Promus note into a play, sometimes reproducing it and sometimes slightly altering it. This entry suggested a second thought, differing somewhat from it, that was also introduced into a play. This second thought suggested a third, and this third a fourth, and so on, until it would be difficult to connect the final thought with the original Promus note were it not for the intervening links.

The following will show my meaning.

On Folio 92 is an entry :—

'All is not gold that glisters.'

This appears in *The Merchant of Venice*, Act II. Scene vii. as :—

'All that glisters is not gold.'

The leading idea of this note is ' glistering gold,' but it gave to Bacon two lines of thought, one on ' glister ' and another on ' gold.' At first his mind seems to have caught on to the word ' glister,' and in *Henry V.*, Act. II. Scene ii., it appears as an adjective in the phrase :—

' Glistering semblance of piety.'

In *The Winter's Tale*, Act III. Scene ii., it appears as a verb in :—

' How he glisters through my rust.'

In *Henry VIII.*, Act II. Scene iii., we have :—

' I swear, 'tis better to be lowly born,
And range with humble livers in content,
Than to be perk'd up in a glistering grief,
And wear a golden sorrow.'

Here both ' gold ' and ' glistering ' appear again, but they are not connected as in the original Promus note ; they are separate, and each has caused a separate thought.

Again, take the entry on Folio 96 :—

' Thought is free.'

This is reproduced exactly in *Twelfth Night*, Act I. Scene iii., and in *The Tempest*, Act III. Scene ii.

In *King Lear*, Act IV. Scene vi., we have :—

' Bear free and patient thoughts.'

In *Othello*, Act III. Scene iii., Othello says to Iago :—

' I prithee, speak to me as to thy thinkings,
As thou dost ruminate, and give thy worst of thoughts
The worst of words.'

And Iago replies :—

' Good my lord, pardon me :
Though I am bound to every act of duty,
I am not bound to that all slaves are free to.
Utter my thoughts ? '

In *Hamlet*, Act III. Scene ii., we have :—

' Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own.'

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act I. Scene v., we have :—

' Thy freer thoughts
May not fly forth of Egypt.'

Later on in the same play, Act v. Scene ii., is :—

> ' Therefore be cheer'd ;
> Make not your thoughts your prisons.'

In *Measure for Measure*, Act v. Scene i., we have :—

> ' His act did not o'ertake his bad intent,
> And must be buried but as an intent
> That perish'd by the way : thoughts are no subjects ;
> Intents but merely thoughts.'

In *Timon of Athens*, Act II. Scene ii., we have :—

> ' I would I could not think it ; that thought is bounty's foe ;
> Being free itself, it thinks all others so.'

The above extracts are illustrative of Bacon's manner of meditation, and of the results produced in various forms of this meditation. They show how he took a simple and pithy thought, frequently the thought of another man, and by moulding, shaping, turning, refining, or amplifying it, gave it another form and sometimes out of it drew another thought.

In his prose works Bacon made use of several unusual terms of expression, some of them single words used with some special meaning, some of them words used in conjunction, and some of them short sentences. The person responsible for the Shakespeare plays uses these same terms, sometimes verbatim, and sometimes giving their sense in slightly different words. I give a few examples.

Abate the edge—

In Bacon's ' Essay of Envy ' the following passage occurs :—

> ' Not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy.'

In the last speech at the end of *Richard III.* Richmond says :—

> ' Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord,
> That would reduce these bloody days again,
> And make poor England weep in streams of blood.'

Abuse—

Used with the meaning of ' to deceive.'

In the ' Essay of Youth and Age ' Bacon says :—

> ' For the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them ; but in new things, abuseth them.'

In *King Lear*, Act IV. Scene vii., Lear says :—

> ' I am mightily abus'd . . .
> . . . Would I were assur'd
> Of my condition.'

In *Othello*, Act IV. Scene ii., Emilia says :—

> ' The Moor 's abus'd by some most villanous knave.'

In *Cymbeline*, Act I. Scene iv., Posthumus says to Iachimo :—

> ' You are a great deal abused in too bold a persuasion.'

Æthiope—

In the *New Atlantis* the Spirit of Fornication ' appeared as a little foul ugly Æthiope,' and R. M. Theobald [1] points out that the word Æthiope is used as a term of ' scorn and disgust for some hated woman.' This is a strange use to make of the word ; but the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays uses it in exactly the same way.

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act II. Scene vi., Proteus, having transferred his affection from Julia to Silvia, expresses his disgust for Julia in the words :—

> ' And Silvia—witness Heaven, that made her fair !—
> Shows Julia but a swarthy Ethiope.'

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act V. Scene iv., Leonato says to Claudio :—

> ' Are you yet determined
> To-day to marry with my brother's daughter ? '

And Claudio replies :—

> ' I 'll hold my mind, were she an Ethiope.'

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act III. Scene ii., Lysander scorns Hermia with the words :—

> ' Away, you Ethiope ! '

Is it likely that two different men would have used this word with the same strange and unusual meaning ?

[1] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

Anatomize—

Bacon uses this term in the *Novum Organum*.

In *As You Like It*, Act I. Scene i., Oliver speaking of his brother Orlando says :—

> ' I speak but brotherly of him ; but should I anatomize him to thee as he is, I must blush and weep and thou must look pale and wonder.'

In *King Lear*, Act III. Scene vi., Lear says to Edgar :—

> ' Then let us anatomize Regan : see what breeds about her heart.'

In *As You Like It*, Act II. Scene v., Jaques says :—

> ' The wise man's folly is anatomized
> Even by the squandering glances of the fool.'

Base-court—

Writing to Sir Toby Matthew in 1621 Bacon says :—

> ' It is this solitude of friends which is the base-court of adversity, where almost nobody will be seen stirring, I have often remembered a saying of my Lord Ambassador of Spain, Amor san fin, no tienne fin.'

In *Richard II.*, Act III. Scene iii., we have :—

> ' North. My lord, in the base court he doth attend
> To speak with you ; may it please you to come down.
> King R. Down, down I come ; like glistering Phaethon,
> Wanting the manage of unruly jades.
> In the base court ? Base court, where kings grow base,
> To come at traitor's call and do them grace.'

But so—

This strange term is used by both Bacon and the person responsible for the plays.

Bacon in his *Meditation De Spe Terrestri*, speaking of hope, says :—

> ' If the good turns out less than you hoped for, good though it be, yet because it is not so good, it seems to you more like a loss than a gain, by reason of the over-hope. If neither more or less but so.'

In *King Lear*, Act IV. Scene vii., Kent says to Cordelia —

> ' All my reports go with the modest truth ;
> Nor more nor clipp'd, but so.'

Catch of the Wit—

In his *Natural History* Bacon writes :—

'This notion is but a catch of the wit.'

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act v. Scene ii., Benedick says to Margaret :—

'Thy wit is as quick as the greyhound's mouth, it catches.'

Contain—

Used with the meaning of 'contineo,' to hold together or to control. Bacon in the 'Essay of Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates,' writes :—

'I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards.'

In the 'Essay of Anger,' he says :—

'To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution.'

In the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* the Player says :—

'Fear not, my lord : we can contain ourselves.'

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act v. Scene ii., in reply to the violent outburst of Troilus against Cressida, Ulysses says :—

'O, contain yourself ;
Your passion draws ears hither.'

In *Timon of Athens*, Act II. Scene ii., Timon, in reply to the protest of Caphis, says :—

'Contain thyself, good friend.'

Continent—

Also used with the meaning of 'contineo,' to hold together or to contain.

In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon says :—

'If there be no fulness, then is the continent greater than the content.'

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act v. Scene xiv., we have :—

'O, cleave, my sides !
Heart, once be stronger than thy continent,
Crack thy frail case.'

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II. Scene i., we have :—

> ' Therefore the winds, piping to us in vain,
> As in revenge, have suck'd up from the sea
> Contagious fogs ; which falling in the land,
> Have every pelting river made so proud,
> That they have overborne their continents.'

In *The Merchant of Venice*, Act III. Scene ii., we have :—

> ' Here 's the scroll,
> The continent and summary of my fortunes.'

Convent—

Used with the meaning of ' convenit,' fit or suitable. Bacon said to Talbot in his charge :—

> ' By your variety and vacillation you lost the acceptable time of the first grace, which was not to have convented you.'

In *Twelfth Night*, Act V. Scene i., we have :—

> ' Pursue him, and entreat him to a peace :
> He hath not told us of the captain yet :
> When that is known and golden time convents,
> A solemn combination shall be made
> Of our dear souls.'

Convince—

Used with the meaning of ' convinco,' to overcome. In the ' Essay of Atheism ' Bacon says :—

> ' God never wrought miracle to convince Atheism, because his ordinary works convince it.'

In *Macbeth*, Act I. Scene vii., we have :—

> ' His two chamberlains
> Will I with wine and wassail so convince
> That memory, the warder of the brain,
> Shall be a fume.'

In *Cymbeline*, Act I. Scene iv., we have :—

> ' Your Italy contains none so accomplished a courtier to convince the honour of my mistress.'

Discourse of Reason—

Bacon writes in *The Advancement of Learning* :—

> ' Martin Luther, conducted no doubt by an higher providence, but in discourse of reason.'

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act II. Scene ii., Hector says :—

> ' or is your blood
> So madly hot that no discourse of reason,
> Nor fear of bad success in a bad cause,
> Can qualify the same ? '

In *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene ii., we have :—

> ' O God ! a beast, that wants discourse of reason,
> Would have mourn'd longer.'

Evitate—

Used with the meaning of ' evito,' to avoid.

In *Sylva Sylvarum* Bacon says :—

> ' It is certain that in all bodies there is an appetite of union, and evitation of solution of continuity.'

In *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act V. Scene v., we have :—

> ' Since therein she doth evitate and shun
> A thousand irreligious cursed hours.'

Exhibition—

Used with the meaning of an allowance or gift.

In the *History of Henry VII.* Bacon says :—

> ' She received only a pension or exhibition out of his coffers.'

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act I. Scene iii., we have :—

> ' What maintenance he from his friends receives,
> Like exhibition thou shalt have from me.'

In *Othello*, Act I. Scene iii., we have :—

> ' I crave fit disposition for my wife,
> Due reference of place and exhibition,
> With such accommodation and besort
> As levels with her breeding.'

In the same play, Act IV. Scene iii., we have :—

> ' Marry, I would not do such a thing for a joint-ring, nor for measures of lawn, nor for gowns, petticoats, nor caps, nor any petty exhibition.'

Expulsed—

Used with the meaning of ' expulsus,' driven out.

In *The Advancement of Learning*, we have :—

> ' Learning will expulse business.'
>
> ' The very husks and shells of sciences, all the kernel being forced and expulsed with the torture and press of the method.'

In *Henry VI.*, Part I. Act III. Scene iii., Charles, speaking of the English warriors, says :—

> ' For ever should they be expulsed from France.'

Extenuate—

Used with the meaning of ' extenuo,' to lessen or weaken. Bacon, referring to the early troubles of Elizabeth, expresses the opinion that such a state of affairs, ' for the most part extenuateth the mind and makes it apprehensive of fears.' He ends his eulogy with :—

> ' But why do I forget that words do extenuate and embase matters of so great weight.'

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act I. Scene i., we have :—

> ' Or else the law of Athens yields you up—
> Which by no means we may extenuate—
> To death, or to a vow of single life.'

In *Measure for Measure*, Act II. Scene i., we have :—

> ' You may not so extenuate his offence
> For I have had such faults.'

Fact—

Used with the meaning of an act or deed ; that is, with the meaning of the Latin word ' factum,' something done. Bacon, in the *History of Henry VII.*, says :—

> ' He forbad all injuries of fact or word against their persons or followers.'

In the ' Essay of Unity in Religion,' he says :—

> ' Therefore it is most necessary that the Church by doctrine and decree ; Princes by their sword ; and all learnings, both Christian and Moral, as by their Mercury rod ; do damn and send to Hell, for ever, those facts and opinions, tending to the support of the same.'

In *Macbeth*, Act III. Scene vi., referring to the supposed murder of Duncan by Malcolm and Donalbain, we have :—

> ' Damned fact !
> How it did grieve Macbeth ! '

In *Henry VI.*, Part I. Act IV. Scene i., we have :—

> ' To say the truth, this fact was infamous
> And ill beseeming any common man,
> Much more a knight, a captain and a leader.'

In *Henry VI.*, Part II. Act I. Scene iii., we have :—

> ' That can I witness ; and a fouler fact
> Did never traitor in the land commit.'

In *Cymbeline*, Act III. Scene ii., referring to the proposed murder of Imogen, we have :—

> ' How look I,
> That I should seem to lack humanity
> So much as this fact comes to.'

Fair weather—

In the *History of Henry VII.*, Bacon uses the term ' fair weather ' with a special meaning ; that is as denoting a friendly and amicable state between two possible antagonists.

In *Henry VI.*, Part II. Act v. Scene i., the Duke of York, speaking aside, says :—

> ' But I must make fair weather yet a while,
> Till Henry be more weak and I more strong.'

Generous—

Used with the meaning of ' generosus,' of noble birth. Bacon speaks of ' all the great families, noble and generous of the kingdom.' [1]

In *Measure for Measure*, Act IV. Scene vi., we have :—

> ' Twice have the trumpets sounded ;
> The generous and gravest citizens
> Have hent the gates, and very near upon
> The Duke is entering.'

In *King Lear*, Act I. Scene ii., we have :—

> ' Why bastard ? wherefore base ?
> When my dimensions are as well compact,
> My mind as generous, and my shape as true
> As honest madam's issue ? '

Fort of Reason—

In his speech of ' Undertakers ' Bacon said :—

> ' I know but two forts in this house which the King ever hath, the fort of affection, and the fort of reason.'

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[1] Spedding, *Life*, iv. 285.

In the 'Discourse on Fortitude' in the *Conference of Pleasure*, is :—

'Thus is fortitude the marshal of thought, the armour of the will, and the fort of reason.'

In *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene iv., Hamlet says to Horatio:—

'So, oft it chances in particular men,
That for some vicious mole of nature in them,
As, in their birth—wherein they are not guilty,
Since nature cannot choose his origin—
By the o'ergrowth of some complexion,
Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason,' etc.

Girdle of the World—

Bacon mentions the girdle of the world in his *Natural History*.

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II. Scene i., Puck says :—

'I 'll put a girdle round about the earth
In forty minutes.'

Green wounds—

In the 'Essay of Revenge' Bacon says :—

'A man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal, and do well.'

In *Henry VI.*, Part II. Act III. Scene i., the messenger from Ireland says :—

'Great lords, from Ireland am I come amain,
To signify that rebels there are up
And put the Englishmen unto the sword :
Send succours, lords, and stop the rage betime,
Before the wound do grow uncurable ;
For, being green, there is great hope of help.'

Gross and palpable—

Bacon in his Charge against Oliver St. John says :—

'The second is a slander and falsification and wresting of the law of the land, gross and palpable.'

In his Charge against Lady Somerset, is :—

'Done with an oath or vow of secrecy, which is like the Egyptian darkness, a gross and palpable darkness that may be felt.'

In *The Advancement of Learning* he speaks of :—

> ' Gross and palpable flattery, wherewith many (not the unlearned) have abased and abused their wits and pens.'

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act v. Scene i., Theseus says :—

> ' This palpable-gross play hath well beguiled
> The heavy gait of night.'

In *Henry IV.*, Part I. Act II. Scene iv., the Prince says to Falstaff :—

> ' These lies are like their father that begets them ; gross as a mountain, open, palpable.'

Indign—

Used with the meaning of ' indignus,' unworthy.

Bacon in his conference with Coke says :—

> ' There be four means whereby the death of the king may be compassed and imagined. . . . The fourth by disabling his regiment, and making him appear to be incapable or indign to reign.'

In *Othello*, Act I. Scene iii., we have :—

> ' Let housewives make a skillet of my helm,
> And all indign and base adversities
> Make head against my estimation.'

Indubitate—

Used with the meaning of ' indubitatus,' undoubted.

In the *History of Henry VII.* Bacon said that the members of the House of York were ' held then the indubitate heirs of the Crown.'

In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act IV. Scene i., we have :—

> ' The magnanimous and most illustrate king Cophetua set eye upon the pernicious and indubitate beggar Zenelophon.'

Medicine to the mind—

Bacon speaks of medicine to the mind in *The Advancement of Learning.*

In *Macbeth*, Act v. Scene iii., Macbeth says to the doctor :—

> ' Cure her of that.
> Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,'

Motes and Shadows—

In *Sylva Sylvarum* Bacon says :—

> ' The utmost parts of shadows seem ever to tremble. The cause is for that the little motes which we see in the sun do ever stir, though there be no wind, and therefore these moving in the meeting of the light and shadow, from the light to the shadow, and from the shadow to the light, do show the shadow to move because the medium moveth.'

In *Pericles*, Act IV. Scene iv., we have :—

> ' Like motes and shadows see them move awhile.'

Bacon's philosophy helps us to understand the line in the play.

Oes—

Used with the meaning of ' round spots.'

In the ' Essay of Masques and Triumphs ' Bacon says :—

> ' Oes or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory.'

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act III. Scene ii., we have :—

> ' Who more engilds the night
> Than all yon fiery oes and eyes of light.'

Officious—

Used with the meaning of ' officiosus,' dutiful or ready to serve.

In the ' Essay of Fellowship and Friends ' Bacon says :—

> ' It is true, that in government, it is good to use men of one rank equally : for to countenance some extraordinary, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent ; because they may claim a due. But contrarywise in favour, to use men with much difference and election, is good ; for it maketh the person preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious ; because all is of favour.'

In the *History of Henry VII.* he writes :—

> ' Sir Robert Clifford was won to be assured to the king, and industrious and officious in his service.'

In *Titus Andronicus*, Act V. Scene ii., we have :—

> ' Come, come, be every one officious
> To make this banquet.'

Oppugnancy—

Used with the meaning of ' oppugno,' to fight against or to resist.

Bacon in his Charge against Somerset, says :—

' This marriage and purpose did Overbury mainly oppugn.'

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act I. Scene iii., we have :—

' And, hark, what discord follows ! each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy.'

Out of Joint—

In his ' Notes on the state of Christendom ' Bacon says :—

' We do plainly see in the most countries of Europe, so unsound and shaken an estate, as desireth the help of some great person to set together and join again the pieces asunder and out of joint.'

In ' Observations on a Libel ' he says :—

' It must be understood that it hath been the general practice of this kind of men . . . to abuse the foreign estates, by making them believe that all is out of joint, and ruinous in England.'

In *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene v., Hamlet says :—

' The time is out of joint : O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right.'

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act I. Scene ii., Alexander says to Cressida :—

' He hath the joints of every thing, but every thing so out of joint that he is a gouty Briareus, many hands and no use.'

Perdurable—

Used with the meaning of ' perduro,' lasting.

Bacon, reporting on the scarcity of silver, mentions the wasting of gold and silver coin, ' which turns the nature of these metals which ought to be perdurable, and makes them perishable.'

In *Measure for Measure*, Act III. Scene i., we have :—

' Why should he for a momentary trick
Be perdurably fined ? '

In *Henry V.*, Act IV. Scene v., we have :—

CON. ' Why, all our ranks are broke.
DAN. O perdurable shame ! let 's stab ourselves.'

In *Othello*, Act I. Scene iii., we have :—

'I have professed me thy friend and I confess me knit to thy deserving with cables of perdurable toughness.'

Plausible—

Used with the meaning of 'plausus,' applause.

In the *History of Henry VII.* Bacon speaks of the 'mild and plausible reign of King Edward the Fourth,' and in the 'Essay of Seditions and Troubles' of 'the best actions of a State and the most plausible.'

The last two lines of *Lucrece* are :—

'The Romans plausibly did give consent
To Tarquin's everlasting banishment.'

Play Prizes—

Bacon, in his speech against Somerset, said :—

'Far be it from us, by any strains of wit or art, to seek to play prizes, or to blazon our names in blood.'

In the 'Pacification of the Church' he says :—

'Who would not be offended at one who comes into the pulpit, as if he came upon the stage to play parts or prizes.'

In *Titus Andronicus*, Act I. Scene i., Saturninus says :—

'So, Bassianus, you have play'd your prize :
God give you joy, sir, of your gallant bride.'

Pray in aid—

In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon says :—

'Whatsoever science is not consonant to presuppositions must pray in aid of similitudes.'

In the 'Essay of Friendship' he says :—

'But yet, without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature.'

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act V. Scene ii., Proculeius says :—

'And you shall find
A conqueror that will pray in aid for kindness,
Where he for grace is kneel'd to.'

Put tricks on—

The last sentence but one in Bacon's 'Essay of Cunning' is :—

'Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) putting tricks upon them, than upon the soundness of their own proceedings.'

In *The Tempest*, Act II. Scene ii., Stephano says :—

'What 's the matter ? Have we devils here ? Do you put tricks upon 's with savages and men of Ind, ha ? '

In *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act IV. Scene v., the Clown says to Lafeu :—

'If I put tricks upon 'em, sir, they shall be jades' tricks ; which are their own right by the law of nature.'

Reduce—

Used with the meaning of 'reduco,' to bring back.

Writing to the House of Lords, Bacon says that the example supplied by his fall 'tendeth to the purging of the Courts of Justice, and the reducing of them to their true honour and splendour.'

In *Observations on a Libel* he says :—

'Consciences are not to be forced, but to be won and reduced by the force of truth, by the aid of time, and the use of all good means of instruction and persuasion.'

In *Richard III.*, Act V. Scene v., we have :—

'Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord,
That would reduce these bloody days again.'

In *Henry V.*, Act V. Scene ii., we have :—

'Which to reduce into our former favour
You are assembled.'

Scope—

Used with the meaning of 'σκοπος,' a mark or object on which one fixes the eye.

Bacon in *The Advancement of Learning* says :—

'Other errors there are in the scope that men pronounce to themselves.'

In *Measure for Measure*, Act I. Scene i., the Duke says to Angelo :—

'Your scope is as mine own.'

Sea—

Used with the meaning of a host or great number. In Apothegm No 242 Bacon writes :—

> ' Who came with such a Sea of People upon Italy.'

In *Hamlet*, Act III. Scene i., we have :—

> ' Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,
> And by opposing end them.'

Bacon's *Apothegms* were not published till 1625.

Seeds and beginnings—

Writing to Sir John Digby and referring to the advantages to be derived from friendship with Spain, Bacon says:—

> ' It may be a beginning and seed (for the like actions have had less beginnings) of a holy war against the Turk.'

In the Dedication to the King of his ' Essay on the True Greatness of Britain,' he says :—

> ' None of the great monarchies, which, in the memory of times have risen in the habitable world, had so fair seeds and beginnings, as hath this your estate and kingdom.'

In *Henry IV.*, Part II. Act iii. Scene i., Warwick says to the King :—

> ' There is a history in all men's lives,
> Figuring the nature of the times deceased ;
> The which observed, a man may prophesy,
> With a near aim, of the main chance of things
> As yet not come to life, which in their seeds
> And weak beginnings lie intreasured.
> Such things become the hatch and brood of time.'

In *Macbeth*, Act I. Scene iii., Banquo says to the Witches :—

> ' If you can look into the seeds of time,
> And say which grain will grow and which will not,
> Speak then to me, who neither beg nor fear
> Your favours nor your hate.'

Seen—

Used with the meaning of skilled or well-versed in. Bacon in the *History of Henry VII.* speaks of ' Sabastian Gabata, a man seen and expert in cosmography and invention.'

In *The Advancement of Learning* he says :—

' Many may be well seen in the passages of government, which are to seek in little and punctual occasions.'

In the same work, speaking of Moses, he says :—

' He was seen in all the learning of the Egyptians.'

In *The Taming of the Shrew*, Act I. Scene ii., we have :—

' And offer me disguised in sober robes
To old Baptista as a schoolmaster
Well seen in music, to instruct Bianca.'

Silence the best herald—

This term is used by Bacon in the *Praise of Knowledge*.

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act II. Scene i., Claudio says to Beatrice :—

' Silence is the perfectest herald of joy.'

Slippery—

Used in reference to the dangerous position of those who have attained high social position.

In the ' Essay of Great Place ' Bacon says :—

' The rising into place is laborious ; and by pains men come to greater pains ; and it is sometimes base ; and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which is a melancholy thing.'

In *King John*, Act III. Scene iv., we have :—

' A sceptre snatch'd with an unruly hand
Must be as boisterously maintain'd as gain'd ;
And he that stands upon a slippery place
Makes nice of no vile hold to stay him up.'

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act III. Scene iii., Achilles speaks of men who have obtained

' place, riches, favour,
Prizes of accident as oft as merit :
Which when they fall, as being slippery standers,
The love that lean'd on them as slippery too,
Do one pluck down another and together
Die in the fall.'

In *Cymbeline*, Act III. Scene iii., we have :—

' The art o' the Court,
As hard to leave as keep ; whose top to climb
Is certain falling, or so slippery that
The fear 's as bad as falling.'

Stage—

Used as a verb.

Bacon uses the word 'stage' as a verb in a letter to Buckingham, where he says :—

'These things should not be staged, or talked of.'

In *Measure for Measure*, Act I. Scene i., the Duke says to Angelo :—

'I love the people,
But do not like to stage me to their eyes.'

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act v. Scene ii., Cleopatra says to Iras :—

'The quick comedians
Extemporally will stage us.'

Stage—

Used in reference to man's life on earth.

Bacon in the concluding sentence of the 'Essay of Friendship' says :—

'I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part : If he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.'

In *As You Like It*, Act II. Scene vii., we have Jaques's well-known words :—

'All the world 's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.'

Starting hole—

Bacon, in his report on Lopez's conspiracy, says he

'thought to provide for himself as many starting holes and evasions as he could devise, if any of these matters should come to light.'

In *Sylva Sylvarum*, describing an experiment, he says :—

'These two last I could easily suspect to be prescribed as a starting hole.'

In *Henry IV.*, Part I. Act II. Scene iv., the Prince says:—

'What trick, what device, what starting hole, canst thou now find out to hide thee from this open and apparent shame ?'

Top—

In *De Augmentis* Bacon uses the expression : 'Tops or summits of human nature.' The word 'Top' is used as meaning the highest possible instance or example of the

various attributes of human nature. The person responsible for the Shakespeare plays uses the word 'Top' with the same meaning.

In *The Tempest*, Act III. Scene i., we have Ferdinand's remark :—

> 'Admired Miranda!
> Indeed, the top of admiration! worth
> What 's dearest to the world!'

In *Measure for Measure*, Act II. Scene ii., Isabella says :—

> 'How would you be,
> If He, which is the top of judgement, should
> But judge you as you are?'

In *King John*, Act IV. Scene iii., Salisbury, on seeing the dead body of Arthur, says :—

> 'This is the very top,
> The height, the crest, or crest unto the crest,
> Of murder's arms.

In *Henry VI.*, Part II. Act I. Scene ii., Humphrey of Gloucester says to his wife :—

> 'And wilt thou still be hammering treachery,
> To tumble down thy husband and thyself
> From top of honour to disgrace's feet?'

In *Coriolanus*, Act I. Scene ix., Cominus says :—

> 'Rome must know
> The value of her own : 'twere a concealment
> . . . . . .
> To hide your doings ; and to silence that,
> Which, to the spire and top of praises vouch'd,
> Would seem but modest.'

Trash—

Bacon uses the word 'Trash' as a description of worldly possessions and money. In the 'Essay of Goodness and Goodness of Nature,' he says that if a man :—

> 'be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds and not their trash.'

In his speech at the trial of Lord Sanquhar he says :—

> 'This I commend in you, and take it to be an assured token of God's mercy and favour, in respect whereof all worldly things are but trash.'

In *Othello*, Act III. Scene iii., Iago says to Othello :—

'Who steals my purse steals trash ; 'tis something, nothing ;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands.'

In *Julius Caesar*, Act IV. Scene iii., Brutus says to Cassius : —

'Shall we now
Contaminate our fingers with base bribes,
And sell the mighty space of our large honours
For so much trash as may be grasped thus ? '

Later on in the same scene he says :—

'By heaven, I had rather coin my heart,
And drop my blood for drachmas, than to wring
From the hard hands of peasants their vile trash
By any indirection.'

Troublers of the world—

In *De Augmentis* Bacon writes:—

'That gigantic state of mind which possesseth the troublers of the world.'

In *Richard III.*, Act I. Scene iii., Queen Margaret says to Gloucester :—

'O, let them keep it till thy sins be ripe,
And then hurl down their indignation
On thee, the troubler of the poor world's peace ! '

In *Pericles*, Act V. Scene i., Marina says to Pericles :—

'You said you would believe me ;
But, not to be a troubler of your peace,
I will end here.'

Weed—

Used with the meaning of a dress or garment that disguises the wearer.

Bacon in the *History of Henry VII.* says :—

'This fellow . . . clad himself like a hermit, and in that weed wandered about the country, until he was discovered and taken.'

As previously stated, Bacon in his last prayer says :—

'I have hated all cruelty and hardness of heart ; I have,
Though in a despised weed, sought the good of all men.'

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act II. Scene vii., Julia says :—

'Gentle Lucetta, fit me with such weeds
As may beseem some well-reputed page,'

In *Cymbeline*, Act v. Scene i., Posthumus says :—

> ' I 'll disrobe me
> Of these Italian weeds, and suit myself
> As does a Briton peasant.'

Windows into men's heart—

Writing for Walsingham, Bacon says :—

' Her Majesty—not liking to make windows into men's heart,' etc.

In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v. Scene ii., Biron says :—

> ' Mistress, look on me ;
> Behold the window of my heart, mine eye.'

The examples given in this section are only a few out of hundreds. The editor of ' Bacon's Promus of Formularies and Elegances ' summarises the matter in these words :—

> ' Bacon's most familiar expressions and terms of speech are common in Shakespeare, although not common to the language of the period, and many Shakespearian expressions are to be found in Bacon's prose.'

Many examples of this are given of which I mention the following.

Terms such as ' Take note,' ' Let it be noted,' ' Note that,' which are very frequent in Bacon's acknowledged works, appear upwards of 150 times in the plays, and terms of inquiry, such as ' What is the cause,' nearly 350 times. Phrases such as ' Set it down,' ' Out of question,' ' Let it be considered, inquired, examined,' and a large number of similar expressions not commonly used by other writers, are common to both Bacon's prose works and the plays. About 200 words, short turns of speech, and forms of morning and evening salutation that are entered in the Promus are reproduced in hundreds of passages in the plays ; but, except in very rare cases, do not appear in the works of previous or contemporary authors. Peculiar uses of words may be observed in the plays, which are to be found, it is believed, only in Bacon's works. For example, the word ' Twenty ' is in both groups of works used for an indefinite number, and the word ' Form ' is in five cases out of fifteen made to

express, not ' shape,' but ' attribute,' ' law of nature,' etc., as in the *Novum Organum*.

I do not claim that the words and phrases mentioned in this section of my Notes were not used by other writers ; but I show that a large number of unusual terms and a large number of words employed in an unusual sense were used by Bacon and repeated by the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays.

I have previously mentioned the letter written to Elizabeth and believed for a long time to have been written by Lord Burleigh, and the letter to Monsieur Critoy believed for a long time to have been written by Walsingham, but both of which are now known to have been written by Bacon. They show that in his early days, at least, he wrote under no name at all, with the object apparently that his productions should be attributed to somebody else. Bacon used a large part of the letter to Monsieur Critoy—almost verbatim—in his *Observations on a Libel* that was written a few years afterwards. Spedding considered this ' repeating himself ' ' conclusive ' evidence of Bacon's handiwork. If this is so, is not the repetition of the Promus notes and of the unusual terms and expressions before mentioned or referred to, evidence of his handiwork in the Shakespeare plays ?

REASON 10

Certain errors that appear in Bacon's acknowledged prose works appear also in the plays.

It is a Shaksperian argument that Bacon was a scholar and a learned man, and that if he had been the author of the Shakespeare plays they would not have contained the various small errors of fact or allusion that are found in them.

Speaking of Bacon and his acknowledged writings, R. M. Theobald [1] says :—

> ' Nearly all that was knowable in his time, he knew. His mind was well stored with classic lore. It may seem paradoxical, yet it is true, that one very significant indication of this is his constant habit of inaccurate quotation. He does not seem to have made a practice of looking up passages in the original : he quotes from memory, and although he always gives either the true sense or an improvement upon it, yet he very often does not give the *ipsissima verba* ; and this habit of inaccurate quotation is, I think, the mark of a scholar retaining ideas but not always reproducing precise words. One or two specimens will suffice ; scores may be found in Reynolds' edition of the *Essays*. In the essay of " Adversity," Bacon quotes Seneca in this form : " *Vere magnum habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei.*" The exact words, as Mr. Reynolds points out, are : " *Ecce res magna, habere imbecillitatem hominis securitatem Dei.*" In the essay of " Seditions and Troubles," Tacitus is thus quoted : " *Conflata magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt.*" The words are : " *Invisō semel principe, seu bene seu male facta premunt.*"
>
> . . . . . .
>
> ' Such mistakes are not only no argument against the Baconian theory, they are consistent with it, and even help to sustain it.'

The point I wish to bring out is that Bacon's errors are reproduced in the Shakespeare plays. I give a few examples.

One of the most surprising of Bacon's scientific errors

[1] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

was his persistent rejection of the Copernican theory. In his 'Essay of Wisdom for a Man's self' he says :—

> 'It is a poor centre of a man's actions, Himself. It is right Earth. For that only stands fast upon his own centre, whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another.'

The person responsible for the Shakespeare plays also rejected the Copernican theory.

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act I. Scene iii., Ulysses says :—

> 'The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre
> Observe degree, priority and place.'

In the First Quarto of *Hamlet*, Scene vi., Hamlet writes to Ophelia :—

> 'Doubt that in earth is fire,
> Doubt that the starres doe move,
> Doubt trueth to be a liar
> But doe not doubt I loue.'

In the subsequent quartos and in the First Folio, Act II. Scene ii., this is altered to :—

> 'Doubt thou the stars are fire ;
> Doubt that the sun doth move ;
> Doubt truth to be a liar ;
> But never doubt I love.'

The above extracts show that in 1603 the person responsible for *Hamlet* agreed with the general belief that the interior of the earth was in a state of fusion, but in 1604 had changed his opinion, for the lines in the First Quarto :—

> 'Doubt that in earth is fire,
> Doubt that the starres doe move,'

are in the Second Quarto of 1604 :—

> 'Doubt thou the stars are fire ;
> Doubt that the sun doth move.'

Up to 1603 Bacon also agreed with this general belief, but in his 'Cogitationes de Natura Rerum,' a tract written in 1604, he expresses the opinion that the centre of the earth is cold. The opinion held at the present day is that the interior of the earth is hot ; so if this is correct, Bacon's error was not in his first idea but in his change

of view. The point to be noticed is that Shakespeare and Bacon both changed their opinion on the subject at the same time.

Another point to be noticed is that in 1604 Shakespeare, like Bacon, still rejects the Copernican theory, and, like Bacon, changes his mind about the interior of the earth being fire, but in omitting the line relating to the condition of the earth substitutes in its place one about the stars that agrees with views expressed by Bacon.

Bacon considered that the stars consisted of ' true fires or flames.' He says :—

> ' The fire of the stars is pure, perfect and native. . . . In heaven fire exists in its true place, removed from assault of any contrary body, constant, sustained by itself and things like itself . . . flame with us is pyramidal, and in the heavens globular.' [1]

In *Sylva Sylvarum* he says :—

> ' The celestial bodies, most of them, are true fires or flames, as the Stoics held ; more fine, perhaps, and rarefied than our flame is.'

Now, if he had been speaking of the planets this would have been an error, but I think the words ' most of them ' in the extract from *Sylva Sylvarum* show that he was speaking only of what are generally called the Fixed Stars, which are supposed to be like our sun.

There are other passages in the plays that express Bacon's views as to the stars. For example :—

Julius Caesar, Act III. Scene i. :—

> ' The skies are painted with unnumber'd sparks ;
> They all are fire, and every one doth shine.'

Macbeth, Act I. Scene iv. :—

> ' Stars, hide your fires ;
> Let not light see my black and deep desires ! '

The idea that the stars are fire is derived from Parmenides, of whose works only fragments remain, and they are little known. Is it likely that Shaksper of Stratford, who if he ever was at school was only there for six years and left it at the age of thirteen, and who even when forty-five could only write his name with difficulty, could have known anything about the writings of Parmenides ?

[1] Spedding, *Works*, 438, 476, 533, 550.

Bacon was acquainted with the writings of Parmenides, and mentions him among the Greek philosophers whose works were not sufficiently studied.

Bacon considered that the motion of quicksilver was extremely rapid. In *Novum Organum* he says :—

> ' Motion of flight is conspicuous in gunpowder, quicksilver, and Gold.'

In *Henry IV.*, Part II. Act II. Scene iv., Falstaff says :—

> ' A rascal bragging slave ! the rogue fled from me like quicksilver.'

In *Hamlet*, Act I. Scene v., the Ghost speaks of the ' juice of cursed hebenon ' :—

> ' whose effect
> Holds such an enmity with blood of man,
> That swift as quicksilver it courses through
> The natural gates and alleys of the body.'

In his early days Bacon agreed with the general opinion that the moon controls the tides. In his Masque, performed at Gray's Inn in 1594, speaking of the influence of the moon, he says :—

> ' Your rock claims kindred of the polar star,
> Because it draws the needle to the north ;
> Yet even that star gives place to Cynthia's rays,
> Whose drawing virtues govern and direct
> The flots and re-flots of the Ocean.'

The person responsible for *Hamlet* held the same view. In Act I. Scene i. of the collated editions Horatio says :—

> ' The moist star,
> Upon whose influence Neptune's empire stands,
> Was sick almost to doomsday with eclipse.'

By about the year 1616 Bacon had changed his mind on this point, and in his treatise ' De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris ' writes :—

> ' Whether the moon be in her increase or wane ; whether she be above or under the earth ; whether she be elevated higher or lower above the horizon ; whether she be in the meridian or elsewhere ; the ebb and flow of the sea have no correspondence with any of these phenomena.'

Shakespeare also changed his opinion as to the effect of the moon on the tides at about the same time ; for

although the above extract from *Hamlet* was in all the Quarto editions except the first it was omitted when the First Folio was published in 1623.

There is another instance in *Hamlet* of a simultaneous change of opinion by Shakespeare and Bacon.

In Act III. Scene iv., Hamlet says to the Queen :—

> ' Sense, sure, you have,
> Else could you not have motion.'

In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon writes :—

> ' Some of the ancient philosophers could not conceive how there can be voluntary motion without sense.'

Harold Bayley in *The Tragedy of Francis Bacon* gives five parallels taken from the Shakespeare plays and the writings of Bacon, of which the above is the last. Commenting on them he writes :—

> ' The last example is a peculiarly interesting one, as it is obvious that Bacon is sometimes needful in order to correctly expound " Shakespeare." The words " motion " and " sense " have both of them been a stumbling-block to Shakespearean commentators, who have maintained that we should substitute " notion," or perhaps " emotion," and " sensation," or perhaps " sensibility." The interest, however, does not cease at the mere parallel, but lies deeper, this instance being a typical example of those more subtle connections between the two writers which are daily being revealed. The passage quoted is from the 1605 edition of *The Advancement of Learning*, but Bacon subsequently discovered that the theory that everything that has motion, has likewise sense, was untenable, and in the 1623 edition of the same book, he expressly declares that the doctrine is untrue. The quotation from " Shakespeare " is from the 1604 quarto edition of *Hamlet*. In the folio edition (published in the same year as *The Advancement of Learning*, 1623), *the passage in question, no longer harmonizing with Bacon's views, was omitted*.
>
> ' In order to rightly realize the significance of these and other parallels, we must remember that the relative positions of Bacon and Shakespeare [*i.e.* Shaksper of Stratford] were those of an aristocratic philosopher and of an almost, if not quite, social pariah. One might as reasonably expect to find identities of thought and language in the writings of, say Herbert Spencer, and some low-class dramatic hack employed by an East End music hall.'

I may add that the above extract from *Hamlet* was in all the Quarto editions and not only in the edition of 1604.

Bacon held the erroneous view that fire extinguished fire. He gives an instance of this in his *History of Henry VII.*, where he describes how Perkin Warbeck at the siege of Exeter set fire to one of the city gates, and says that :—

> 'The citizens perceiving the danger blocked up the gate inside with faggots and other fuel, which they likewise set on fire, and so repelled fire with fire.'

In *The Advancement of Learning* he says :—

> 'Flame doth not mingle with flame, but remaineth contiguous.'

The person responsible for the plays held the same erroneous view. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act II. Scene iv., we have :—

> 'Even as one heat another heat expels,
> Or as one nail by strength drives out another,
> So the remembrance of my former love
> Is by a newer object quite forgotten.'

In *Coriolanus*, Act IV. Scene vii., we have :—

> 'One fire drives out one fire ; one nail, one nail.'

In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I. Scene ii., we have :—

> 'Tut, man, one fire burns out another's burning.'

In *Julius Caesar*, Act III. Scene i., we have :—

> 'As fire drives out fire, so pity pity.'

In *King John*, Act III. Scene i., Pandulpho says to the King :—

> 'And falsehood falsehood cures, as fire cools fire.'

In *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon, referring to the fable of the basilisk, says that :—

> 'if he see you first you die of it, but if you see him first, he dieth ; so it is with deceipts and evil arts, which if they be first espied, they leese their lives ; but if they prevent, they endanger.'

In the *History of Henry VII.*, referring to Perkin Warbeck, he says :—

> 'This was the end of this little cocatrice of a king, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first.'

I do not wish to make out from these extracts from *The Advancement of Learning* and the *History of Henry VII.*

that Bacon believed in the killing power of the basilisk's eye. They are merely examples showing his multifarious knowledge of out-of-the-way subjects. The reference to the basilisk or cocatrice is not really one of his errors ; he merely uses the fable as a means of illustration. The person responsible for the plays uses it in the same way.

In *Henry V.*, Act v. Scene ii., Queen Isabel says to the English King :—

> ' As we are now glad to behold your eyes ;
> Your eyes, which hitherto have borne in them
> Against the French, that met them in their bent,
> The fatal balls of murdering basilisks :
> The venom of such looks, we fairly hope,
> Have lost their quality.'

The above is an instance of the truth of Ben Jonson's remark that Bacon could not pass by a jest. A basilisk was also the name of a kind of large cannon used in those days, and ' the fatal balls of murdering basilisks ' may be made to apply either to the eyeballs of the cocatrice or to the cannon-balls thrown by the cannon.

In *Henry VI.*, Part II. Act III. Scene ii., the King says:—

> ' Upon thy eye-balls murderous tyranny
> Sits a grim majesty, to fright the world.
> Look not upon me, for thine eyes are wounding :
> Yet do not go away : come, basilisk,
> And kill the innocent gazer with thy sight.'

In *Henry VI.*, Part III. Act III. Scene ii., Gloucester says :—

> ' I 'll slay more gazers than the basilisk.'

In *Richard III.*, Act I. Scene ii., Gloucester says to Anne :—

> ' Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine,'

to which she replies :—

> ' Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead ! '

In the same play, Act IV. Scene i., the Duchess says :—

> ' A cockatrice hast thou hatch'd to the world,
> Whose unavoided eye is murderous.'

In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act III. Scene ii., Juliet says :—

> ' Hath Romeo slain himself ? Say thou but " I,"
> And that bare vowel " I " shall poison more
> Than the death-darting eye of cockatrice ;
> I am not I, if there be such an I,
> Or those eyes shut, that make thee answer " I."
> If he be slain, say " I " ; or if not, " No." '

This is another instance of the writer being unable to pass by a jest, even in one of the most tragic passages of the play.

Professor Fowler in his Introduction to Bacon's *Novum Organum* says :—

> ' that in the *Sylva Sylvarum* Bacon affords his countenance to many of the most absurd fancies of his time, is a fact so well known and so universally confessed, that it hardly requires illustration. I may give as instances, the conceit that the blood-stone is good for them that bleed at the nose, with the quaere, whether " the stone taken out of the toad's head be not of the like virtue, for the toad loveth shade and coolness." '

The person responsible for the plays also countenanced one, at least, of these absurd fancies, for in *As You Like It*, Act II. Scene i., we have :—

> ' Sweet are the uses of adversity,
> Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
> Wears yet a precious jewel in his head.'

It may be noticed that the person responsible for the plays makes a reference to the toad as living in ' shade and coolness.' In *Macbeth*, Act IV. Scene i., the First Witch says :—

> ' Round about the caldron go ;
> In the poison'd entrails throw.
> Toad, that under cold stone,
> Days and nights has thirty one.'

Bacon attempted to explain the growth of knots and irregularities in trees. In *Sylva Sylvarum* he says :—

> ' There be divers herbs, but no trees, that may be said to have some kind of order in the putting forth of their leaves ; for they [*i.e.* the trees] have joints or knuckles as it were, stops in their germination. The cause whereof is for that the sap ascendeth unequally and doth as it were tire and stop by the way. And it seemeth they have some closeness and hardness in their stalk, which hindereth the sap from going up, until it hath gathered into a knot.'

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act I. Scene iii., Agamemnon says :—

> ' Checks and disasters
> Grow in the veins of actions highest rear'd,
> As knots, by the conflux of meeting sap,
> Inflect the sound pine and divert his grain,
> Tortive and errant from his course of growth.'

Whether Bacon's explanation of the cause of knots and irregularities in trees is an error or not I am not qualified to say. But the idea is a strange one, and the person responsible for the plays used it as an illustration long before Bacon's explanation was published. The First Quarto edition of *Troilus and Cressida* was published in 1609 and the revised edition in 1623, but *Sylva Sylvarum* was not written till 1624 and not published till 1627.

Bacon supposed that the sea swelled previous to a storm. In his ' Essay of Seditions and Troubles ' he writes :—

> ' As there are certain hollow blasts of wind, and secret swelling of seas, before a tempest, so there are in states.'

In *Richard III.*, Act II. Scene iii., the Third Citizen remarks :—

> ' Before the time of change, still is it so :
> By a divine instinct men's minds mistrust
> Ensuing dangers ; as, by proof, we see
> The waters swell before a boisterous storm.'

Bacon seems to have thought that the Chameleon lived on air. In *Sylva Sylvarum* he says :—

> ' Some that have kept chameleons a whole year together could never perceive that they fed upon anything but air.'

The person responsible for *Hamlet* seems to have thought the same. In Act III. Scene ii. the King says to Hamlet :—

> ' How fares our cousin Hamlet ? '

to which Hamlet replies :—

> ' Excellent, i' faith ; of the chameleon's dish : I eat the air.'

The idea that the chameleon lived on air is expressed in slightly different wording in the First Quarto. The First Folio edition of *Hamlet* was published in 1623. As

previously stated, *Sylva Sylvarum* was not published till 1627.

Bacon had a lingering belief in astrology. There is a note on Folio 85 of the Promus :—

> ' L'astrologia e vera ma L'astrologuo non sy truoua.'

The person responsible for the Shakespeare plays believed in the influence of the planets.

In *The Winter's Tale*, Act II. Scene i., we have :—

> ' There 's some ill planet reigns :
> I must be patient till the heavens look
> With an aspect more favourable.'

In *Henry VI.*, Part I. Act I. Scene i., we have :—

> ' Shall we curse the planets of mishap
> That plotted thus our glory's overthrow ? '

Later on in the same scene we have :—

> ' Combat with adverse planets in the heavens ! '

In *Richard III.*, Act IV. Scene iv., we have :—

> ' Be opposite all planets of good luck
> To my proceedings, if, with pure heart's love,
> Immaculate devotion, holy thoughts,
> I tender not thy beauteous princely daughter ! '

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act I. Scene iii., we have :—

> ' whose medicinable eye
> Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil.'

In his *Natural History* Bacon writes :—

> ' There is an ancient received tradition of the Salamander that it liveth in the fire, and hath force also to extinguish the fire.'

One cannot say whether Bacon believed this to be a fact or not ; but it would appear that the person responsible for the plays believed it. In *Henry IV.*, Part I. Act III. Scene iii., Falstaff says :—

> ' I have maintained that Salamander of yours with fire any time this two and thirty years.'

Bacon and the person responsible for the play of *King Lear* both seem to have believed in witchcraft, and drew their information from the same source. Edwin Reed in *Bacon* v. *Shakspere*, writing about witchcraft, says :—

> ' He [Bacon] treated the subject in the *Advancement of Learning* (1605) and in the *Sylva Sylvarum*. Among the most conspicuous

instances of the kind to which he alludes were those investigated by Dr. Harsnet, and made public by him in a book entitled *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*, in 1603.

'That the author of *King Lear* (1606) went to this same book for information on witchcraft is perfectly well known. The same extraordinary devils are introduced to us in both of these works under the following names :—

From Harsnet's *Declaration*.	From *King Lear*.
Fliberdigibet.	Flibbertigibbet.
Hoberdidance.	Hobbididance.
Haberdicut.	Obidicut.
Flateretto.	Flateretto.
Smolkin.	Smolkin.
Modu.	Modo.
Maho.	Mahu.

'Passages in the text of *King Lear* can also be traced in Harsnet, particularly Edgar's references to knives and halters (articles that played an important part in the proceedings at Denham) and the character of the seven devils mentioned, each of which represented a deadly sin in human nature. The likeness extends in one case even to the curling of the hair.'

I have stated in these Notes that Bacon believed in the possibility of Alchemy. The person responsible for the Shakespeare plays seems also to have had some sort of belief in Alchemy; at any rate he used it as a simile, as though it was a science that he recognised.

In *Julius Caesar*, Act I. Scene iii., we have :—

'His countenance, like richest alchemy,
Will change to virtue and to worthiness.'

In *King John*, Act III. Scene i., we have :—

'To solemnize this day the glorious sun
Stays in his course and plays the alchemist,
Turning with splendour of his precious eye
The meagre cloddy earth to glittering gold.'

There can be no doubt that Bacon believed in the music caused by the movement of the stars, or what is sometimes called the Music of the Spheres.

In *De Augmentis* he says :—

'The two engines which Pan bears in his hands, do point the one at Harmony, the other at Empire ; for the pipe of seven reeds doth evidently demonstrate the consent and harmony ; or discordant concord of Nature, which is caused by the motion of the seven wandering stars.'

The person responsible for the Shakespeare plays had a like belief.

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act v. Scene ii., Cleopatra, describing her dream, says :—

> ' His voice was propertied
> As all the tuned spheres.'

In *Twelfth Night*, Act III. Scene i., Olivia says :—

> ' I had rather hear you to solicit that,
> Than music from the spheres.'

In *The Merchant of Venice*, Act v. Scene i., are the well-known lines spoken by Lorenzo :—

> ' Sit Jessica. Look how the floor of heaven
> Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold :
> There 's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
> But in his motion like an angel sings,
> Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins.'

In *Pericles*, Act v. Scene i., Pericles, overjoyed at the discovery of Marina, says :—

> ' But, what music ?
> HEL. My lord, I hear none.
> PER. None !
> The music of the spheres ! List, my Marina.'

The ' discordant concord ' is reflected in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act v. Scene i., where Theseus, commenting on the list of entertainments provided says :—

> ' Merry and tragical ! tedious and brief !
> That is, hot ice and wondrous strange snow.
> How shall we find the concord of this discord ? '

The seven stars appear in *Henry IV.*, Part I. Act I. Scene ii., where Falstaff says

> ' We that take purses go by the moon and the seven stars.'

I mention three points that have been considered to be errors made by the person responsible for the plays.

One is the embarkation at Verona in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. This is not an error at all. Embarkation does not necessarily mean embarkation on the sea. The Adige is navigable for light boats at Verona, and the start was clearly made on the river. Launce in Act II. Scene

iii., replying to the request that he should be quick lest he should lose the tide, says :—

' Why, man, if the river were dry I am able to fill it with my tears.'

The second error, namely the reference to Julio Romano as a sculptor, is again not an error at all.

In *The Winter's Tale*, Act v. Scene ii., the Third Gentleman mentions the statue of Hermione as having been

' newly performed by that rare Italian master Julio Romano.'

It has been alleged that Bacon could not have been responsible for the play, as a man of knowledge would have been aware that Julio Romano was a painter and not a sculptor.

Julio Pippi, more frequently called Julio Romano, is best known as a painter and designer ; but he produced one piece of sculpture at least, namely, the fine monument of Pietro Stozzi in the Church of Sant' Andrea at Mantua Instead of the remark in the play being an error, it is an instance of the writer's knowledge of facts little known, and it is characteristic of Bacon's multifarious knowledge. If the monument was the only piece of statuary that Julio Romano produced, and as far as I know it is the only undoubted one in existence, the writer of the above extract from *The Winter's Tale* was fully justified in referring to him as ' that rare Italian master,' whether the word ' rare ' be taken as meaning ' scarce ' or ' excellent.' The writer knew what he was writing about, and it almost looks as though he must have seen the monument. Shaksper of Stratford never went abroad. Bacon we now know travelled in Italy.

The third error, also in *The Winter's Tale*, is the mention of the seashore of Bohemia. Shakspeřians have used this as an argument against Bacon having had anything to do with the play. They say that Bacon was a learned man and a scholar, and a learned man and a scholar would not have written about the seashore of Bohemia, as he would have known that no such thing ever existed.

In reply it has been stated that at one time Bohemia stretched to the sea. Whether this is true or not I do not know.

I think the explanation is this. The play is founded on

Greene's romance of *Pandosto*, and the person responsible for *The Winter's Tale* took his plot straight from the romance. In this romance a landing takes place on the seashore of Bohemia. The following is how Greene puts it.

Dorastus and Fawnia had been tossing about in their ship for three days in a severe gale :—

> ' But upon the fourth day about ten of the clock the wind began to cease, the sea to wax calm, and the sky to be clear, and the mariners discried the coast of Bohemia, shooting off their ordnance for joy that they had escaped such a fearful tempest. Dorastus hearing that they were arrived at some harbour, sweetly kissed Fawnia, and bade her be of good cheer : when they told him that the port belonged to the chief city of Bohemia where Pandosto kept his Court, Dorastus began to be sad : knowing that his father hated no man so much as Pandosto, and that the king himself had sought secretly to betray Egistus : this considered, he was half afraid to go on land, but that Capnio counselled him to change his name and his country, until such time as they could get some other barque to transport them into Italy. Dorastus liking this device, made his case privy to the mariners, rewarding them bountifully for their pains, and charging them to say, that he was a gentleman of Trapolonia called Meleagrus. The shipmen, willing to show what friendship they could to Dorastus, promised to be as secret as they could, or he might wish : and upon this, they landed in a village a mile distant from the city.'

If the person responsible for *The Winter's Tale* made a mistake in geography he owed it to copying Greene. Greene was certainly a learned man and a scholar. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and took the degree of B.A. in 1578. He travelled in Italy and Spain and ' on his return,' says his biographer, ' took his Master's degree at Clare-hall, in 1583, and was incorporated in the same at Oxford in 1588, no inconsiderable proof that his proficiency in his studies had been very conspicuous.'

It is incredible that two different persons, one a highly educated man with perhaps the greatest intellect that England has ever produced and the other an indifferently educated rustic, should have held so many of the same unusual philosophical views, should have made the same errors, and should have come to the conclusion that three of these philosophical views were wrong and should both have corrected them at the same time.

REASON 11

The style of Bacon's acknowledged writings is similar to the style of a large portion of the plays.

ONE has heard a great deal about what is called 'the Shakespeare touch.'

Now 'the Shakespeare touch' can only be ascertained by a perusal of the Shakespeare plays and poems. It cannot be discovered in any other way. It is the style of the person responsible for the best parts of the plays, whoever he may have been. I take it that it will not be claimed that 'the Shakespeare touch' is found in the extracts from *Henry IV.*, Part I. Act II. Scene iv., and *Troilus and Cressida*, Act v. Scene i., that are given later. If the original plays were written by such writers as Drayton, Dekker, Monday, and others, as I feel certain they were, then in the existing plays we ought to find 'the Drayton touch,' and 'the Dekker touch,' and 'the Monday touch,' and the touch of the other collaborators, and if these plays were revised by Bacon, we ought also to find 'the Bacon touch' in the existing plays. I hold that we do find all these 'touches,' and, in particular, we find 'the Bacon touch.' I consider that what has been called 'the Shakespeare touch' ought to be called 'the revising touch of Francis Bacon.'

Professor Fowler says in his Introduction to Bacon's *Novum Organum* :—

> 'There is something about Bacon's diction, his quaintness of expression, and his power of illustration, which lays hold of the mind, and lodges itself in the memory, in a way which we hardly find paralleled in any other author, except it be Shakespeare.'

I do not for a moment wish to infer that this learned authority on Bacon is expressing any opinion on the authorship of the Shakespeare plays. He is speaking

solely about Bacon's style of writing; but I take it that his meaning is that in diction, quaintness of expression, and power of illustration, the writing of Bacon is similar to the writing of the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays.

An argument that is often raised by the Shaksperians is to this effect.

The style of Bacon's acknowledged works is so totally different to the style of the Shakespeare plays and poems, and his versification of the Psalms is so inferior, that it is impossible that the same man could have written all these works.

It is difficult to say exactly what Bacon's style of writing really is. There is the style of his philosophical writings, the style of *The World's a Bubble*, the style of his versification of the Psalms, and the style of his Gray's Inn Masques. He was able to write in the style of other people. He wrote a letter to Elizabeth in the style of Burleigh. He wrote a letter to a French Minister in the style of Walsingham. He wrote letters for Essex and others. With the object of restoring Essex to the favour of Elizabeth he wrote a letter that was supposed to be addressed by Essex to Anthony Bacon, and another that was supposed to be Anthony Bacon's reply to Essex. This is what Dr. Abbott says about them :—

> 'The wonderful exactness with which he has caught the somewhat quaint, humorous, cumbersome style of Anthony, and the abrupt, incisive antithetical and passionately rhetorical style of Essex, makes the perusal of these letters a literary treat, independent of their merits.'

This is what Dr. Abbott[1] says on the subject of Bacon's style of writing :—

> 'Bacon's style varied almost as much as his handwriting; but it was influenced more by the subject-matter than by youth or old age. Few men have shown equal versatility in adapting their language to the slightest shade of circumstance and purpose. His style depended upon whether he was addressing a king, or a great nobleman, or a philosopher, or a friend; whether he was composing a State paper, pleading in a State trial, magnifying the Prerogative, extolling Truth, discussing studies, exhorting a judge, sending a

[1] *Life of Bacon.*

New Year's present, or sounding a trumpet to prepare the way for the Kingdom of Man over Nature. It is a mistake to suppose that Bacon was never florid till he grew old. On the contrary, in the early Devices written during his connection with Essex, he uses a rich exuberant style and poetic rhythm ; but he prefers the rhetorical question of appeal to the complex period. . . . The *Essays*, both early and late, abound in pithy metaphor as their natural illustration. . . . It would seem that Bacon's habit of collecting choice words and phrases, to express his meaning exactly, or ornately, had from a very early date the effect of repelling some of his hearers by the interspersion of unusual expressions and metaphors. . . . He seems gradually to have succeeded, with the aid of friendly critics, in shaking off his early tendency to " spangle his speech " with fit and terse, but unusual, expressions. But that he felt any pride in, or even set a just value on, his unique mastery of the English language, there is scarcely any indication.'

This diversity of style would go a long way towards an explanation of the different style of writing that is so obvious between Bacon's acknowledged works and a large portion of the Shakespeare plays, and between the style of writing in the plays themselves ; but to my mind it would not go far enough. There is a great deal of writing in the plays that is not in Bacon's style, but at the same time there is a large portion that is written in his style. The explanation is, and personally I have no doubt on the matter, that the plays of the First Folio are the final revisions by Bacon of earlier plays, and that in his various revisions at various times he left in a large part of the earlier writing, touched up other parts, and added those portions that have made the Shakespeare plays the unique gems of literature that they now are.

It has often been pointed out that much of the subject-matter of the plays is taken from Holinshed and from North's *Plutarch* ; but it has not been so frequently noticed that Bacon in the preface to his *History of Henry VII.* commended the elaboration of existing literary work, inasmuch as it saved time and labour. His view was that the labours of a writer were much easier if he had, ready to work on,

' a simple narrative of the actions themselves, which should only have needed to be enriched with the counsels and speeches and notable particularities.'

Bacon was a great orator, was great at ' counsels and speeches,' and had a multifarious knowledge of ' notable particulars.' I claim that he added these ' counsels,' ' speeches,' and ' notable particulars ' to the writings in Holinshed and North's *Plutarch*, and to the plays written in collaboration by other men. Rawley says that Bacon ' clothed the thoughts of others in more beautiful garbs.' The Shakespeare plays are to a great extent ' the thoughts of others ' clothed ' in more beautiful garbs,' and they are examples of the kind of writing that Bacon commended.

I have already stated that I consider the phenomenal vocabulary claimed for the author of the plays a strong argument against the suggestion that Bacon wrote the whole of the Shakespeare plays, but I regard the difference of style as a still stronger argument. It seems to me that neither Bacon nor any other one man could have written them in their entirety. But, as in the case of the phenomenal vocabulary, the difficulty does not exist if Bacon revised earlier plays in the way that I have claimed he did.

Shaksperians have attempted to make a great deal out of this argument as to style, and many people consider it conclusive ; but while pointing out the difference in style between Bacon's acknowledged works and a large part of the plays, they have not said much about the difference of style that is to be found not only in different plays but also in several individual plays. It seems to me quite impossible that the same man, no matter whether he was Bacon or Shaksper of Stratford, who had written the ribaldry that is to be found in some of the plays, could have written Portia's plea for mercy, Jaques's speech on the life of man, or Hamlet's soliloquy, or that the man who wrote the vulgar abuse of Thersites and Patroclus could have written the speeches of Ulysses.

In *Henry IV.*, Part I. Act II. Scene iv., we have :—

> ' Go thy ways, old Jack ; die when thou wilt, if manhood, good manhood, be not forgot upon the face of the earth, then am I a shotten herring. There live not three good men unhanged in England ; and one of them is fat and grows old : God help the while ! a bad world, I say. I would I were a weaver ; I could sing psalms or any thing.'

In the same scene we have :—

'Why dost thou converse with that trunk of humours, that bolting-hutch of beastliness, that swollen parcel of dropsies, that huge bombard of sack, that stuffed cloak-bag of guts, that roasted Manningtree ox with a pudding in his belly, that reverend vice, that grey iniquity, that father ruffian, that vanity in years ?'

A few lines further on in the same scene we have :—

'If sack and sugar be a fault, God help the wicked ! if to be old and merry be a sin, then many an old host that I know is damned : if to be fat be to be hated, then Pharaoh's lean kine are to be loved. No, my good lord ; banish Peto, banish Bardolph, banish Poins : but for sweet Jack Falstaff, kind Jack Falstaff, true Jack Falstaff, valiant Jack Falstaff, and therefore more valiant, being, as he is, old Jack Falstaff, banish not him thy Harry's company, banish not him thy Harry's company : banish plump Jack, and banish all the world.'

In *Henry IV.*, Part II. Act v. Scene i., we have :—

'It is a wonderful thing to see the sembable coherence of his men's spirits and his ; they, by observing of him, do bear themselves like foolish justices ; he, by conversing with them, is turned into a justice-like serving-man : their spirits are so married in conjunction with the participation of society that they flock together in consent, like so many wild-geese. If I had a suit to Master Shallow, I would humour his men with the imputation of being near their master : if to his men, I would curry with Master Shallow that no man could better command his servants. It is certain that either wise bearing or ignorant carriage is caught, as men take diseases, one of another : therefore let men take heed of their company.'

In *Hamlet*, Act III. Scene ii., we have :—

'Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor : suit the action to the word, the word to the action ; with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature : for any thing so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is, to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature ; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure.'

In *Measure for Measure*, Act III. Scene ii., we have :—

'There is so great a fever on goodness, that the dissolution of it must cure it : novelty is only in request ; and it is as dangerous to be aged in any kind of course, as it is virtuous to be constant in any undertaking. There is scarce truth enough alive to make societies secure ; but security enough to make fellowship accurst :—much upon this riddle runs the wisdom of the world.'

The style of the first three of these six extracts is similar and the style of the last three is similar; but the man who wrote the first three could not, to my mind, have written the last three. The handiwork of two persons is evident. J. H. Stotsenburg[1] considers that *Henry IV.*, Part I., and *Henry IV.*, Part II., of the First Folio were founded on earlier plays written in collaboration by Drayton and Dekker, Drayton being responsible for the historical portions and Dekker for the comical parts, that Part I. was revised between 1598 and 1599 by some one whose name is set down as W. Shake-speare, and Part II. previous to the publication of the First Folio. He shows, and I think shows clearly, the handiwork of Drayton and Dekker in both these First Folio plays, and I think it may be taken that the first three extracts given above were written by Dekker, who was given to the writing of vulgar language and strong oaths. I have no doubt whatever that the last three extracts were written by Bacon; they are written in his style, they are in the style of his *Essays*, and were it not for the subject-matter of one of them and for the fact that Falstaff is speaking, they might be extracts from the *Essays*.

Take the speech of Lafeu in *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act II. Scene iii., already referred to :—

> 'They say miracles are past; and we have our philosophical persons, to make modern and familiar, things supernatural and causeless. Hence is it that we make trifles of terrors, ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge, when we should submit ourselves to an unknown fear. Why, 'tis the rarest argument of wonder that hath shot out in our latter times.'

This also might be a portion of one of Bacon's *Essays*. Moreover, as R. M. Theobald remarks,[2] it

> 'teems with Baconian thought; it is a particular application of the maxim *causarum explicatio tollit miraculum*. The philosophical teaching implied in this very Baconian speech in the play is exactly reproduced in the *Novum Organum*, II. 28. And the curious use of the word *causeless* is anticipated and vindicated. . . . We can, by help of Bacon's philosophy, see why causeless, and supernatural, are connected with what is miraculous or not familiar.'

[1] *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title.*
[2] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*

This speech of Lafeu is an echo of the speech of the Second Counsellor in the *Device* performed at Gray's Inn in 1594.

I now give an instance of the difference in style that is found in one and the same play.

In *Troilus and Cressida*, Act v. Scene i., is the following:—

> 'Now, the rotten diseases of the south, the guts-griping, ruptures, catarrhs, toads o' gravel i' the back, lethargies, cold palsies, raw eyes, dirt-rotten livers, wheezing lungs, bladders full of imposthume, sciaticas, limekilns i' the palm, incurable bone-ache, and the rivelled fee-simple of the tetter, take and take again such preposterous discoveries! . . . Thou damnable box of envy. . . . You ruinous butt, you whoreson indistinguishable cur. . . . Thou green sarcenet flap for a sore eye, thou tassel of a prodigal's purse.'

The above words may have been acceptable to the theatre 'groundlings' of the time, but the man who wrote them could not have written what Collier called 'the magnificent speeches of Ulysses.' These speeches are too long to be set out here; but I give a short extract from Act i. Scene iii., as follows:—

> 'How could communities,
> Degrees in schools and brotherhoods in cities,
> Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,
> The primogenitive and due of birth,
> Prerogative of age, crowns, sceptres, laurels,
> But by degree, stand in authentic place?
> Take but degree away, untune that string,
> And, hark, what discord follows! each thing meets
> In mere oppugnancy: the bounded waters
> Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores
> And make a sop of all this solid globe:
> Strength should be lord of imbecility,
> And the rude son should strike his father dead:
> Force should be right; or rather, right and wrong,
> Between whose endless jar justice resides,
> Should lose their names, and so should justice too.
> Then every thing includes itself in power,
> Power into will, will into appetite;
> And appetite, an universal wolf,
> So doubly seconded with will and power,
> Must make perforce an universal prey,
> And last eat up himself.'

As I have stated, *Henslowe's Diary* shows that a play called *Troilus and Cressida* was written by Dekker and

Chettle in 1599. I feel certain that the first of the above two extracts was written by Dekker. The second was, I think, written by Bacon. It is an essay of Bacon in verse. The word 'oppugnancy' has been previously referred to.

I do not think any one will be able to find much difference in style in the following :—

'Weight in gold, iron in hardness, the whale in size, the dog in smell, the flame of gunpowder in rapid extension.' (*Novum Organum.*)

'False of heart, light of ear, bloody of hand ; hog in sloth, fox in stealth, wolf in greediness, dog in madness, lion in prey.' (*King Lear*, Act III. Scene iv.)

'Men must learn that in this theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and the angels to be lookers-on.' (*Advancement of Learning.*)

'I have thought some of Nature's journeymen had made men, and not made them well, they imitate humanity so abominably.' (*Hamlet*, Act III. Scene ii.)

The following is an extract from Bacon's *Masque of the Indian Prince* :—

'Seated between the old world and the new,
A land there is no other land may touch,
Where reigns a queen in peace and honour true ;
Stories or fables do describe no such,
Never did Atlas such a burden bear,
As she in holding up the world opprest,
Supplying with her virtue everywhere
Weakness of friends, errors of servants best.
No nation breeds a warmer blood for war,
And yet she calms them by her majesty ;
No age hath ever wits refined so far,
And yet she calms them by her policy ;
To her thy son must make his sacrifice,
If he will have the morning of his eyes.'

I think the above lines are an answer to those who, judging only by Bacon's versification of the Psalms, say that he could not have written the poetical parts of the Shakespeare plays. This eulogy of Elizabeth, which was written in 1595, is similar in style to the tribute to the virgin Queen in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II. Scene i. :—

'That very time I saw, but thou couldst not,
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,
Cupid all arm'd : a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal throned by the west,

And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow,
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts ;
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of a watery moon,
And the imperial votaress passed on,
In maiden meditation, fancy-free.'

It is interesting to compare some of the lines in these verses from the *Masque of the Indian Prince* with lines in the Shakespeare plays :—

' Seated between the old world and the new.'
(*Masque.*)

' Flying between the cold moon and the earth.'
(*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II. Scene i.)

' Where reigns a queen in peace and honour true.'
(*Masque.*)

' In peace and honour rest you here, my sons.'
(*Titus Andronicus*, Act I. Scene i.)

' Never did Atlas such a burden bear.'
(*Masque.*)

' Thou art no Atlas for so great a weight.'
(*Henry VI.*, Part III. Act v. Scene i.)

' Supplying with her virtue everywhere.'
(*Masque.*)

' Shall see thy virtue witness'd everywhere.'
(*As You Like It*, Act III. Scene ii.)

' And yet she calms them by her majesty.'
(*Masque.*)

' That is not blinded by her majesty.'
(*Love's Labour's Lost*, Act IV. Scene iii.)

' If he will have the morning of his eyes.'
(*Masque.*)

' Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes.'
(*Richard III.*, Act v. Scene iii.)

I claim that in the above the style is identical.

But even in the versification of the Psalms there are instances of style similar to that of the Shakespeare poems. I give the following examples :—

' Or as a watch by night that course doth keep,
And goes and comes, unwares to them that sleep.'
(*Versification of the Psalms.*)

' Or like the deadly bullet of a gun,
His meaning struck her ere his words begun.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, lines 461 and 462.)

'As a tale told which sometimes men attend,
And sometimes not, our life steals to an end.'
(*Versification of the Psalms.*)

'As if between them twain there were no strife,
But that life lived in death and death in life.'
(*Lucrece*, lines 405 and 406.)

'So that with present griefs and future fears,
Our eyes burst forth into a stream of tears.'
(*Versification of the Psalms.*)

'But like a stormy day, now wind, now rain,
Sighs dry her cheeks, tears make them wet again.'
(*Venus and Adonis*, lines 965 and 966.)

I now take as an example of Bacon's style what is called the triple antithesis, which is so marked a feature of his writing. In his 'Essay of Studies' Bacon says:—

'Studies serve for delight, for ornament and for ability.'

'To spend too much time on studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules is the humour of a scholar.'

'Crafty men contemn studies; simple men admire them; and wise men use them.'

'Some books are to be tasted; others to be swallowed; and some few to be chewed and digested: That is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention.'

'Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man. And, therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit; and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not.'

In his 'Essay of Praise,' speaking of the people, he says:—

'The lowest virtues draw praise from them; the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense or perceiving at all.'

In *The Conference of Pleasure* the Hermit says:—

'There shall we find secrets not dangerous to know; sides and parties not factious to hold; precepts and commandments not penal to disobey.'

In the same Device the Soldier says:—

'It is the wars that are the tribunal seat; where the highest rights and possessions are decided; the occupation of kings, the root of nobility, the protection of all estates.'

In the speech of the Esquire we have :—

'You will give laws, and advance force, and trouble nations, and remove landmarks of kingdoms, and hunt men, and pen tragedies in blood.'

'Hath the practice of force so deprived you of the use of reason, as that you will compare the interruption of society with the perfection of society? the conquest of bodies with the conquest of spirits? the terrestrial fire, which destroyeth and dissolveth, with the celestial fire, which quickeneth and giveth life?'

Innumerable other examples could be given.

The use of the triple antithesis is frequent in the Shakespeare plays. Compare the style of the above extracts taken from acknowledged writings of Bacon with the following :—

'Some are born great, some achieve greatness, and some have greatness thrust upon them.' (*Twelfth Night*, Act II. Scene v.)

'One draught above heat makes him a fool, a second mads him, and a third drowns him.' (*Twelfth Night*, Act I. Scene v.)

'Any thing that 's mended is but patched; virtue that transgresses is but patched with sin; and sin that amends is but patched with virtue.' (*Twelfth Night*, Act I. Scene v.)

'To be now a sensible man, by and by a fool, and presently a beast.' (*Othello*, Act II. Scene iii.)

'It would be an argument for a week, laughter for a month, and a good jest for ever.' (*Henry IV.*, Part I. Act II. Scene ii.)

'First my fear; then my courtesy; last my speech. My fear, is your displeasure; my courtesy, my duty; and my speech, to beg your pardons.' (*Henry IV.*, Part II. Epilogue.)

'She is a woman, therefore may be woo'd;
She is a woman, therefore may be won;
She is Lavinia, therefore must be loved.'
(*Titus Andronicus*, Act II. Scene i.)

'Her father loved me; oft invited me;
Still question'd me the story of my life
From year to year, the battles, sieges, fortunes,
That I have pass'd.'
(*Othello*, Act I. Scene iii.)

'How shall we stretch our eye
When capital crimes, chew'd, swallow'd and digested
Appear before us?'
(*Henry V.*, Act II. Scene ii.)

I think it is fairly generally known that a certain amount of the prose in the First Folio is really verse. Some of this hidden verse has been noticed by modern editors and printed as verse in modern editions. Perhaps the best known example is the speech of Mercutio on Queen Mab in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I. Scene iv. I do not think it is so well known that in Bacon's prose, particularly in his *Essays* and his *Apothegms*, are also verses with terminal and internal rhymes. Internal rhymes also appear in his versification of the Psalms. The rhymes in the *Apothegms* are mostly comic rhymes.

The consideration of the verses and rhymes in Bacon's prose would fill a volume; in fact it has filled a volume, for Edwin Borman has written a book on the subject entitled *Francis Bacon's Cryptic Rhymes*. All I can do in these Notes is to state that in the prose of both Bacon and the Shakespeare plays is to be found verse with terminal and internal rhymes. Terminal rhymes are, of course, those at the ends of lines. Internal rhymes are those within the line itself. The following are some examples :—

'*I*, but to *die*, and *go* we *know* not where.'
(*Measure for Measure*, Act III. Scene i.)

'*Faith*, I saw it *not*; but I felt it *hot* in her *breath*.'
(*The Comedy of Errors*, Act III. Scene ii.)

'Dromio E. Here 's too much "out upon thee!" I pray thee, let me *in*.
Dromio S. Ay, when fowls have no feathers and fish have no *fin*.
Ant. E. Well, I 'll brake *in*: *go*, borrow me a *crow*.
Dromio E. A *crow* without *feather*? Master, mean you *so*?
For a fish without a *fin*, there 's a fowl without *feather*:
If a *crow* help us *in*, sirrah, we 'll pluck a *crow together*.
Ant. E. *Go* get thee gone; fetch me an iron *crow*.
Bal. Have patience, sir; *O* let it not be *so*!'
(*The Comedy of Errors*, Act III. Scene i.)

'For his part he had thought of one way, *which*
Was, that they *should* help the King to some *good*
Office, for all his affairs were *rich*.'
(*Apothegm* 267.)

In order to obtain rhymes both Bacon and the person responsible for the plays resorted to the same kind of

tricks. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v. Scene i., the person responsible for the play changes a Latin word in order to obtain a rhyme. In the 'Essay of Truth' Bacon mis-spells a name in order to obtain a rhyme, and in the 'Essay of Adversity' misquotes Seneca in order to obtain a rhyme. They both wrote verses with what I may call hidden rhymes: that is, all the lines rhyme except one, or perhaps two, and the reader or hearer is left to supply the proper rhyme, one of the objects being apparently to draw attention to the word or words that have to be replaced. There is an instance of this in *Hamlet*, Act III. Scene ii., and attention is called to it by Horatio's remark: 'You might have rhymed.' There is an instance of it in the 'Essay of Adversity,' and attention is drawn to it by the words that follow it: 'This would have done better in Poesy.'

There is an interesting instance of a hidden rhyme in the last sentence of the 'Essay of Anger.' Bacon says there are two remedies against anger, and having mentioned the first he continues:—

> 'The other is, to sever, as much as may be, the Construction of the Injury, from the Point of Contempt: Imputing it, to Misunderstanding, Feare, Passion, or what you will.'

Here the verses are:—

> 'The other is to sever, as much as may be,
> The Construction of the Injury,
> From the Point of Contempt: Imputing it,
> To Misunderstanding, Feare, Passion, or what you will.'

There is a hidden rhyme in the last line. To remedy anger by imputing an injury to 'what you will,' *i.e.* to anything you like, would be nonsense. Moreover, the words 'what you like' spoil the rhythm. The reader has to supply something in the place of the words 'what you will' that will rhyme with the word 'it,' will conform with the rhythm, and make sense. Perhaps the word is 'wit.'

The hidden rhyme calls attention to the words that have to be deleted, namely, 'what you will.'

The 'Essay of Anger' was new in 1625 when the final edition of the *Essays* was published, and it is the last but one of the series; so the words 'what you will' may have

been almost the last that Bacon ever wrote; they were certainly among the last he ever published. It is somewhat strange that they should be the same as the title of a Shakespeare play that had been published for the first time only a short time previously.

It may be stated shortly that Bacon and the person responsible for the plays had the same trick of hiding verse in their prose, the same trick of writing internal rhymes, the same trick of altering words in order to obtain rhymes, the same trick of writing hidden rhymes, and the same trick of calling the reader's attention to it and leaving him to supply the proper rhyme. This must either have been done purposely, or else is the result of chance. I believe it was done designedly, otherwise attention would not have been called to the hidden rhymes. If it is the result of chance, then Bacon was so great a poet that when he wrote prose verse and rhyme flowed from his pen unconsciously.

Nearly all Bacon's acknowledged works are written in prose; a large portion of the Shakespeare plays are written in verse, particularly those parts that I believe were added by Bacon. It is difficult to compare the style of prose with the style of poetry, but I think it is quite safe to state that there is no more difference between the style of Bacon's acknowledged prose and the style of the poetry of the Shakespeare plays than there is between the style of Milton's prose and the style of *L'Allegro* and *Comus*.

John Florio translated Montaigne's *Essays* into English. The following extract is taken from that translation :—

> 'It is a nation that hath no kind of traffic; no knowledge of letters; . . . no name of magistrate; . . . no use of service, of riches, or of poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividends; no occupations, but idle; no respect of kindred, but common; no manuring of lands; no use of wine, corn or metal.'

In *The Tempest*, Act II. Scene i., Gonzalo, speaking of the Commonwealth he would set up in the island if he were the king of it, says :—

> 'I' the commonwealth I would by contraries
> Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
> Would I admit; no name of magistrate;

Letters should not be known ; riches, poverty,
And use of service, none ; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none ;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil ;
No occupation ; all men idle, all ;
And women too, but innocent and pure ;
No sovereignty ; . . .

. . . . . .

All things in common nature should produce
Without sweat or endeavour.'

There can be no possible doubt that the person responsible for *The Tempest*, whoever he may have been, took the prose translation of Florio, enlarged it, and turned it into verse. That this person was Bacon is more than probable. Arber, in the preface to his edition of Bacon's *Essays*, says that Anthony Bacon made the friendship of Montaigne in 1582 and that without doubt this acquaintance resulted in these French essays being brought to Francis Bacon's notice. Moreover, Florio, together with Herbert, Hobbs, and Ben Jonson, was one of Bacon's literary assistants.

The above extracts from Florio's translation and *The Tempest* show what prose becomes when it is converted into Shakespearian poetry. I now give a few extracts from Bacon's acknowledged prose, with corresponding passages in verse from the plays. Bearing in mind the difficulty before mentioned of comparing prose and poetry, and remembering what Florio's prose translation of Montaigne becomes when converted into Shakespearian verse, I think the style is the same.

' In the third place, I set down reputation, because of the peremptory tides and currents it hath, which, if they be not taken in their due time, are seldom recovered.'—(*Advancement of Learning.*)

' There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune ;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat ;
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.'

(*Julius Caesar*, Act IV. Scene iii.)

'With Julius Caesar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest as he set him down in his testament, for heir in remainder after his nephew. And this was the man that had power with him, to draw him forth to his death. For when Caesar would have discharged the Senate, in regard to some ill presages, and especially a dream of Calphurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the Senate till his wife had dreamt a better dream.'—(*Essay of Friendship*.)

'DEC. Caesar, all hail! good morrow, worthy Caesar:
I come to fetch you to the senate-house.
CAES. And you are come in very happy time,
To bear my greeting to the senators
And tell them that I will not come to-day.
. . . . . .
DEC. Most mighty Caesar, let me know some cause,
Lest I be laugh'd at when I tell them so.
CAES. The cause is in my will: I will not come;
That is enough to satisfy the senate.
But for your private satisfaction,
Because I love you, I will let you know:
Calpurnia here, my wife, stays me at home:
She dreamt to-night she saw my statua,
Which, like a fountain with an hundred spouts,
Did run pure blood; and many lusty Romans
Came smiling, and did bathe their hands in it:
And these does she apply for warnings, and portents,
And evils imminent; and on her knee
Hath begg'd that I will stay at home to-day.
DEC. This dream is all amiss interpreted;
. . . . . .
. . . Besides it were a mock
Apt to be render'd, for some one to say,
"Break up the senate till another time,
When Caesar's wife shall meet with better dreams."'
(*Julius Caesar*, Act II. Scene ii.)

'Be so true to thyself as thou be not false to others.'—(*Essay of Wisdom*.)

'This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.'
(*Hamlet*, Act I. Scene iii.)

'He that turneth the humours back and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations.'—(*Essay of Seditions and Troubles*.)

'This is the imposthume of much wealth and peace,
That inward breaks, and shows no cause without
Why the man dies.'

(*Hamlet*, Act IV. Scene iv.)

'Where the evil is derived from a man's own fault there all strikes inwards and suffocateth.'—(*The Colours of Good and Evil.*)

'Those wounds heal ill that men do give themselves.'

(*Troilus and Cressida*, Act III. Scene iii.)

'It was ordained that this winding ivy of a Plantagenet should kill the tree itself.'—(*History of Henry VII.*)

'Now he was
'The ivy which had hid my princely trunk,
And suck'd my verdure out on't.'

(*The Tempest*, Act I. Scene ii.)

'The people that dwell at the foot of snow mountaines, or otherwise upon the ascent . . ., have great bags hanging under their throats.'—(*Natural History.*)

'Who would believe that there were mountaineers
Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging at 'em
Wallets of flesh?'

(*The Tempest*, Act III. Scene iii.)

'It is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy work upon a lightsome ground; judge therefore of the pleasures of the heart by the pleasure of the eye.'—(*Essay of Adversity.*)

'And like bright metal on a sullen ground,
My reformation, glittering o'er my fault,
Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes
Than that which hath no foil to set it off.'

(*Henry IV.*, Part I. Act I. Scene ii.)

'Let not this Parliament end like a Dutch feast in salt meats, but like an English feast in sweet meats.'—(*Speech in Parliament*, 1604.)

'Lo, as at English feasts, so I regreet
The daintiest last, to make the end most sweet.'

(*Richard II.*, Act I. Scene iii.)

'Cardinal Wolsey said that if he had pleased God as he had pleased the king he had not been ruined.'—(*Letter to King James.*)

'Had I but served my God with half the zeal
I served my king, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies.'

(*Henry VIII.*, Act III. Scene ii.)

'Love must creep where it cannot go.'—(*Letter to King James.*)

'For you know that love
Will creep in service where it cannot go.'
(*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act IV. Scene ii.)

'The passions of the mind work upon the body, the impressions following. Fear causeth paleness; trembling; the standing of the hair upright; starting.'—(*Sylva Sylvarum.*)

'I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,
Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,
Thy knotted and combined locks to part
And each particular hair to stand an end,
Like quills upon the fretful porpentine.'
(*Hamlet*, Act I. Scene v.)

'Your bedded hair, like life in excrements,
Starts up, and stands an end.'
(*Hamlet*, Act III. Scene iv.)

'It is the wisdom of crocadiles, that shed tears when they would devour.'—(*Essay of Wisdom.*)

'Gloucester's show
Beguiles him, as the mournful crocadile
With sorrow snares relenting passengers.'
(*Henry VI.*, Part II. Act III. Scene i.)

'Periander being consulted with how to preserve a tyranny; bid the Messenger stand still, and he walking in a garden topped all the highest flowers, signifying the cutting off and the keeping low of the nobility.'—(*De Augmentis.*)

'Go thou, and like an executioner,
Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,
That look too lofty in our commonwealth.'
(*Richard II.*, Act III. Scene iv.)

'Actaeon having unawares, and as it were by chance, beheld Diana naked, was turned into a stag, and devoured by his own dogs.'—(*Wisdom of the Ancients.*)

'Had I the power that some say Dian had,
Thy temples should be planted presently
With horns, as was Actaeon's; and the hounds
Should drive upon thy new-transformed limbs,
Unmannerly intruder as thou art!'

(*Titus Andronicus*, Act II. Scene iii.)

'O, when mine eyes did see Olivia first,
Methought she purged the air of pestilence!
That instant was I turn'd into a hart;
And my desires, like fell and cruel hounds,
E'er since pursue me.'

(*Twelfth Night*, Act I. Scene i.)

'As for Discontentments, they are in the Politic Body, like to Humours in the Natural, which are apt to gather a preternaturall Heat, and to Enflame.'—(*Essay of Seditions and Troubles.*)

'Use all your power
To stop their marches 'fore we are inflamed.
Our discontented counties do revolt:
. . . . . .
This inundation of mistemper'd humour
Rests by you only to be qualified.'

(*King John*, Act V. Scene i.)

'As tenebration doth meliorate fruit, so upon the like reason doth letting of plant's blood, as pricking vines or other trees after they be of some growth; and thereby letting forth gums or tears.'—(*Natural History.*)

'We at time of year
Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-trees,
Lest, being over-proud in sap and blood,
With too much riches it confound itself.'

(*Richard II.*, Act III. Scene iv.)

'A man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. . . . For the experience of age in things that fall within the compass of it directeth it.'—(*Essay of Youth and Age.*)

'Yet hath Sir Proteus, for that 's his name,
Made use and fair advantage of his days;
His years but young, but his experience old;
His head unmellow'd, but his judgement ripe.'

(*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act II. Scene iv.)

'Like perspectives, which show things inwards when they are but paintings.'—(*Natural History.*)

'Like perspectives, which rightly gazed upon
Show nothing but confusion, eyed awry
Distinguish form.'

(*Richard II.*, Act II. Scene ii.)

In *The Wisdom of the Ancients* Bacon, speaking of the fable of Orpheus, says :—

'So great was the power and alluring force of this harmony that he drew the woods and moved the very stones to come and place themselves in an orderly and decent fashion about him.'

'Therefore the poet
Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones and floods ;
Since naught so stockish, hard, and full of rage,
But music for a time doth change his nature.'

(*The Merchant of Venice*, Act V. Scene i.)

'It is true, nevertheless, that a great light drowneth a smaller, that it cannot be seen ; as the sun that of a glow-worm ; as well as a great sound drowneth a lesser.'—(*Sylva Sylvarum.*)

'POR. That light we see is burning in my hall.
How far that little candle throws his beams !
So shines a good deed in a naughty world.
NER. When the moon shone, we did not see the candle.
POR. So doth the greater glory dim the less :
A substitute shines brightly as a king
Until a king be by ; and then his state
Empties itself, as doth an inland brook
Into the main of waters.'

(*The Merchant of Venice*, Act V. Scene i.)

There are instances of the same idea appearing in Bacon's prose, in his recognised verse, and in Shakespearian verse.

'High treason is not written in ice, that when the body relenteth, the impression goeth away.'—(Bacon's *Charge against Owen.*)

'This weak impress of love is as a figure
Trenched in ice, which with an hour's heat
Dissolves to water, and doth lose his form.'

(*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act III. Scene ii.)

'Who then to frail mortality shall trust
But limmes the water, or but writes in dust.'

(Bacon's *All the World's a Bubble.*)

> ' Men's evil manners live in brass ; their virtues
> We write in water.'
>
> (*Henry VIII.*, Act IV. Scene ii.)

It may be said that it is impossible to compare the style of prose with the style of poetry, and therefore the examples given above are of no value. But even if this is so, it must be admitted that the thoughts of Bacon expressed in prose reappear in the plays in verse, and the thoughts expressed in the verse are frequently amplifications of the thoughts expressed in the prose. R. M. Theobald [1] says :—

> ' Some of Bacon's most characteristic ideas find their best, their amplest expression, not in Bacon's prose, but in Shakespeare's poetry. The crude, technical, scientific exposition of the theory is to be found in the prose : while the larger and more varied applications of the theory—the theory set in many lights and colours, as it is seen reflected in the multiplying and transforming mirror of a poet's mind—is seen in Shakespeare. But amidst all this kaleidescopic change the individuality of the patient thinker, and that of the tuneful singer and inspired seer, remains the same. In the prose the speaker keeps on the solid ground of science and philosophy, his wings are folded, and his harp is silent ; but in the poetry he carries the same thoughts into higher regions—he ascends the Empyrean, and the higher he ascends the more rapturous and musical is his strain, although he has brought his theme from the lower levels of philosophy.'

It is not within the scope of these Notes to refer in detail to the parts of the First Folio plays that owe their origin to the various collaborators who wrote the earlier plays on which they were founded, and which have been left in by the reviser. The subject has been considered fairly fully by J. H. Stotsenburg.[2] My point is that if Bacon did not create the whole of each of the First Folio plays, but revised various existing plays written by other authors, then we shall find in the First Folio plays not only the style of Bacon but also the style of these other authors whose plays he revised. The result of J. H. Stotsenburg's researches may be shortly summarised as follows.

[1] *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light.*
[2] *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title.*

Writing in the style of both Drayton and Dekker is found in *The Winter's Tale*, *Henry IV.*, Part I., *Henry IV.*, Part II., *Henry V.*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *King John*, *Pericles*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet*, *Cymbeline*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Richard III.* Writing in the style of Dekker and Chettle is found in *Troilus and Cressida*. Writing in the style of Dekker is found in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Writing in the style of both Heywood and Chettle is found in *Measure for Measure*. Writing in the style of Drayton is found in *Richard II.* Writing in the style of both Drayton and Chettle is found in *Henry VIII.* Writing in the style of both Dekker and Henry Porter is found in *The Comedy of Errors*. Writing in the style of Webster is found in *Coriolanus* and *Macbeth*. Writing in the style of Anthony Monday is found in *Henry VI.*, Part I. I may add that the work of the master mind of Francis Bacon can be found in every one of the plays contained in the First Folio and also in *Pericles*, as I endeavour to show in these Notes. It is, of course, more obvious in some plays than in others.

At first sight the argument as to the versification of the Psalms seems to be a strong one, but its strength is considerably weakened when the matter is carefully considered.

I do not think Bacon's versification is so bad as it is generally supposed to be. Milton and Sir Philip Sidney also versified the Psalms and their versification is no better than Bacon's, and in some cases is much inferior.

The following is from Bacon's versification of the 90th Psalm :—

> 'O Lord, thou art our home, to whom we fly,
> And so hast always been from age to age ;
> Before the hills did intercept the eye,
> Or that the frame was up of earthly stage,
> One God thou wert, and art, and still shall be ;
> The line of time, it doth not measure thee.
>
> 'Thou carriest man away as with a tide,
> Then down swim all his thoughts that mounted high,
> Much like a mocking dream that will not bide,
> But flies before the sight of aching eye ;
> Or as the grass that cannot term obtain
> To see the summer come about again.'

The following is from Milton's versification of the 7th Psalm :—

> ' Lord, my God, to Thee I fly,
> Save me and secure me under
> Thy protection while I cry ;
> Lest as a lion (and no wonder)
> He haste to tear my soul asunder,
> Tearing and no rescue nigh.
>
> ' He digged a pit and delved deep,
> And fell into the pit he made :
> His mischief that due course doth keep
> Turns on his head, and his ill trade
> Of violence will, undelayed,
> Fall on his crown with ruin steep.'

The following is a portion from Sidney's versification of the 31st Psalm :—

> ' O Lord, of thee lett me still mercy wynne ;
> For troubles of all sides have hemm'd me in :
> My eyes, my guts, yea my soule, grief doth wast,
> My life with heaviness, my years with moane,
> Doe pine : my strength with paine is wholly gone ;
> And ev'n my bones consume where they be plast.'

I think everybody must admit that in the above examples Bacon's verses are superior to either Milton's or Sidney's. People do not say that because Milton wrote some bad versifications of the Psalms therefore he could not have written *Comus* or *Paradise Lost*, or that because Sir Philip Sidney wrote some bad versifications of the Psalms he could not have written *Astrophel and Stella*, or that because Wordsworth wrote ' Peter Bell ' he could not have written the ode on ' Intimations of Immortality from recollections of Early Childhood,' but they do say that because Bacon wrote some poor versifications of the Psalms therefore he could not have written the Shakespeare poems or the poetical parts of the Shakespeare plays. Surely, if the argument is not to apply to Milton, or to Sidney, or to Wordsworth, it should not be applied to Bacon.

But are Bacon's Psalms as bad as they have been said to be ? They contain some fine lines. No fault, surely, can be found with the four lines of the 90th Psalm com-

mencing, 'Thou carriest men away as with a Tide,' nor with the following :—

'Who sowes in Tears, shall reap in Joy.'
(126th Psalm.)

'Down with it, down with it even unto the ground.'
(137th Psalm.)

Take the line :—

'The Moon, so constant in Inconstancy.'
(104th Psalm.)

The reference to the inconstant moon is an addition by Bacon. There is nothing about it in the Bible; but there is a good deal about it in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II. Scene ii.

Take the line :—

'The greatest Navies look like walking Woods.'
(104th Psalm.)

This again is Bacon's addition. There is nothing about walking or moving woods in the Bible; but there is in *Macbeth*, Act IV. Scene i., and in Act V. Scenes ii., iii., v., and viii.

Many poets, even the greatest, have at times written doggerel. There is a tendency with many people to regard everything that appears in the Shakespeare plays as perfect, whereas the plays contain many passages of very inferior merit. Take, for example, the two following from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act II. Scene iii. :—

'Do not say so, Lysander; say not so.
What though he love your Hermia? Lord, what though?'

'Is 't not enough, is 't not enough, young man,
That I did never, no, nor never can,
Deserve a sweet look from Demetrius' eye,
But you must flout my insufficiency?
Good troth, you do me wrong, good sooth, you do,
In such disdainful manner me to woo.'

To my mind these two extracts are at least no better than Bacon's versification of the Psalms. Shakespeare, whoever he may have been, wrote doggerel at times. Edwin Reed [1] says on this point :—

'The truth is, Bacon's version of the Psalms is an essential part of our case; it explains what would otherwise have been inex-

[1] *Bacon v. Shakespeare.*

plicable in " Shake-speare." The author of the plays, as Mr. White observes, was not always writing *Hamlet*.'

Bacon, as Dr. Abbott has said, adapted his style to the persons he was addressing. His object was to educate his fellow creatures, and he addressed them according to their class in such a manner as he thought would best appeal to them. As in his philosophical works he adapted his style to the highly educated and as in his plays he adapted his style to those of less education, so in his versification of the Psalms he adapted his style to the people who would attend the village church. It would have been of no use to versify the Psalms in the high poetic style of *Venus and Adonis* and of *Lucrece*. I think that Bacon and Milton and Sidney in versifying the Psalms had it in their minds that their verses should be learnt by heart and sung in churches.

Shaksper of Stratford is said to have composed the epitaph on his grave in Stratford Church :—

> ' Good friend for Jesus sake forbeare
> To digg the dust enclosed heare :
> Blest be ye man yt spares thes stones,
> And curst be he yt moves my bones.'

The Shaksperians say that the man who versified the Psalms could not have written the plays and the poems. Is it not as reasonable to say that the man who wrote this epitaph could not have written the plays and the poems ? There is no more poetic beauty in Shaksper of Stratford's epitaph than there is in Bacon's versification of the Psalms.

The following is said to be the first stanza of a ballad on Sir Thomas Lucy written by Shaksper of Stratford after the deer-stealing episode :—

> ' A parliemente member, a justice of peace,
> At home a poor scare-crowe, at London an asse ;
> If lowsie is Lucy, as some volke miscalle it,
> Then Lucy is lowsie whatever befall it.
> He thinks himself greate,
> Yet an asse in his state
> We allowe by his ears but with asses to mate.
> If Lucy is lowsie, as some volke miscalle it,
> Sing lowsie Lucy, whatever befall it.'

Aubrey says that Shaksper of Stratford, being once at a tavern in Stratford when a money-lender named Combes was to be buried, wrote the following epitaph.

> ' Ten in a hundred the devil allows,
> But Combes will have twelve he swears and vows ;
> If any one asks who lies in this tomb,—
> Hoh ! quoth the devil, 'Tis my John o' Combe ! '

Which of the above verses of Shaksper of Stratford resembles the style of the Shakespeare plays ?

REASON 12

The circumstances under which, according to the latest critics, the Sonnets were written, make the authorship of Shaksper of Stratford an impossibility.

THE Sonnets have been the subject of considerable discussion, and divergent views have been held, and are still held, as to their authorship and as to the persons to whom they were addressed. Some are of opinion that they are autobiographical, others that they are merely the outpourings of the author's poetical fancy and have nothing to do with the experiences of his life. Some have thought that they were addressed to Queen Elizabeth; others that they were addressed to the Earl of Southampton; others that they were addressed to the Earl of Pembroke, and that the so-called 'Dark Lady' was Mary Fitton, one of Elizabeth's Maids of Honour; another that not a single one of them was addressed to anybody at all; and we have had a leading Shaksperian jumping from the side of the Herbertites to that of the Southamptonians, somewhat after the manner of a 'necessary cat' (*Merchant of Venice*, Act IV. Scene i.) that suddenly finds itself in an untenable position on hot bricks.

For a long time the authorship of Shaksper of Stratford was accepted without question, but recently, when the Sonnets were more carefully studied and it was found that they did not fit in with anything that is known of the Stratford man's life, other candidates for authorship have been proposed, and among these candidates is Francis Bacon. As I think Bacon had very little, if anything at all, to do with the sonnets I shall say nothing in regard to the claim made on his behalf, but shall endeavour to prove that the circumstances under which, according to the latest critics, the sonnets were written make the authorship of Shaksper of Stratford an impossibility.

As far as I can judge it appears to be now agreed by the critics that the earlier sonnets were addressed to the Earl of Southampton, the date of the second series being not later than 1594, and that the first seventeen were addressed to him in 1591 for a special reason; that the later sonnets were addressed to the Earl of Pembroke; and that the so-called 'Dark Lady' was Mary Fitton.

I will first mention the exterior evidence relating to the sonnets.

They were first mentioned by Francis Meres in the *Palladis Tamia* published in 1598. He says :—

> 'As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweete wittie soule of Ovid liues in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare; witnes his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends,' etc.

Now if the sonnets that Meres referred to were the same as those known as the Shakespeare sonnets, then his remark points to Bacon as the author; for he mentions Shakespeare as being the author of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, as well as of the 'sugred Sonnets,' and I claim to have shown that Bacon was the author of these two poems.

But Sir Sidney Lee in his *Life of Shakespeare* shows that in *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Henry V.*, and *Much Ado About Nothing*, there are jeers at sonneteering—echoes of critical hostility: a satiric touch in the receipt for the conventional love-sonnet: disdain of the sonnet: are among the terms Sir Sidney uses. This, I think, tends to show that whoever was responsible for the Shakespeare plays, no matter whether he was Francis Bacon or Shaksper of Stratford, was not the author of the Shakespeare sonnets; for a man who had written 154 sonnets would not have gibed at sonneteering in his plays.

According to Meres the sonnets circulated among the private friends of the author.

The private friends of Shaksper of Stratford were such as 'those deserving men' and 'men players' Heminge, Condell, and Phillips, John Davenant who kept a public house at Oxford, and the Quineys and Sturleys of Strat-

ford. It is not likely that the sonnets circulated among men of this stamp.

The next reference is in the register of the Stationers' Company, which is :—

> ' 20. May 1609. Thomas Thorpe. a book called Shake-speare's Sonnets.'

It may be worthy of notice that the entry in the register is not of ' Shake-speare's Sonnets ' but of ' a book called Shake-speare's Sonnets.'

The next reference is also in 1609, when the sonnets were printed by G. Eld and published by the said Thomas Thorpe under the name of Shake-speare with the following dedication :—

TO . THE . ONLIE . BEGETTER . OF .
THESE . INSVING . SONNETS .
MR . W . H . ALL . HAPPINESSE .
AND . THAT . ETERNITIE .
PROMISED .
BY .
OVR . EVER-LIVING . POET .
WISHETH .
THE . WELL-WISHING .
ADVENTVRER . IN .
SETTING .
FORTH .

T. T.

This is all the external evidence we have.

Nobody knows how or from whom Thorpe obtained possession of the sonnets. Most probably they came from some private family collection. But it does not follow that because they may have been found together they were all written by one man. The probability is that although many of them may have been the productions of one person, the writings of others had got mixed up with them before ' the onlie begetter ' procured them. Nor does the name Shake-speare prove that they, or any of them, were written by Shakespeare, whoever he may have been, any more than the name Shakespeare on *A London Prodigal* and the other plays previously mentioned prove that these plays were written by Shakespeare. No doubt Shakespeare was a well-known and popular

name in 1609, and just the sort of name a not over-scrupulous publisher would be likely to make use of, in the hope of obtaining a ready sale for his publication.

Thorpe's dedication has caused a good deal of trouble.

One of the arguments of the Herbertites was that Thorpe had dedicated his publication to, and the sonnets had been addressed by their author to, the Earl of Pembroke. Mr. W. H., they said, stood for William Herbert, the Christian name and the family name of the Earl. The absurdity of the suggestion is obvious. Would Thomas Thorpe, a mere bookseller, have addressed a Peer of the Realm and a Knight of the Garter as Mr. W. H. ? Moreover, as Walter Begley[1] pointed out, Thorpe did not dedicate his publication to any Peer of the Realm, but to an ordinary commoner of the name of Hall. His interpretation was that Thorpe in the dedication wished ' Mr. W. Hall. happinesse.'

The ' onlie begetter of these insving Sonnets ' was clearly the person who had succeeded in procuring them for Thorpe ; namely, Mr. W. Hall, who, Walter Begley suggested, was the same W. Hall that procured a poem written by Robert Southwell which was printed by the same G. Eld who printed the sonnets.

I will now consider very shortly some of the sonnets, with the object of showing that Shaksper of Stratford could not have been their author.

The first seventeen are known as the Procreation sonnets, and are considered by Shaksperians to have been written under the following circumstances.

Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, was the sole surviving representative of an old and important family. His father was dead, and he was Burleigh's ward. Burleigh was anxious that he should marry, and as early as 1590 had a scheme for his marriage with his granddaughter Lady Elizabeth Vere, the eldest daughter of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Burleigh's daughter Anne. The Procreation sonnets are alleged to have been written in order to induce Southampton to agree to Burleigh's scheme. If this is correct, then the date of

[1] *Is it Shakespeare ?*

these sonnets may be put at about 1591. We are asked to believe that they were written by Shaksper of Stratford. It is well to consider what his position was in 1591.

According to Halliwell-Phillipps[1] this is the sort of man Shaksper of Stratford was when he arrived in London somewhere about 1585.

> 'Removed prematurely from school; residing with illiterate relations in a bookless neighbourhood; thrown into the midst of occupations adverse to scholastic progress—it is difficult to believe that, when he first left Stratford, he was not all but destitute of polished accomplishments. He could not, at all events, under the circumstances in which he had then so long been placed, have had the opportunity of acquiring a refined style of composition.'

By 1591 Shaksper of Stratford may have occupied the successive offices of butcher's assistant, ostler, and call boy, or may even have become an actor. But if he was an actor he was only one of a low grade. He is not mentioned as a member of Burbage's company till 1594. He was not known as a poet, for *Venus and Adonis* was not published till 1593. He was not known as a writer of sonnets, for the Procreation sonnets are supposed to have been the first of the series of Shakespeare sonnets. He was not known as an author of plays, for *Love's Labour's Lost*, which was the first play that had any name on it, was not published till 1598.

This is the man who we are asked to believe wrote sonnets to the Earl of Southampton in 1591, called him his 'master-mistress,' addressed him as 'Dear my love,' and asked him to marry 'for love of me.' Is it reasonable, is it in accordance with ordinary common sense, to think that a man in the social position of Southampton would have had anything to do with a man in the position of Shaksper of Stratford. That Shaksper of Stratford could have written the Procreation sonnets is to my mind an absolute impossibility.

Whoever the author was he must have written them either at the request of somebody else, or else on his own initiative.

But nobody would have asked a man who was not

[1] *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare.*

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The next reference is in the register of the Stationers' Company, which is :—

> ' 20. May 1609. Thomas Thorpe. a book called Shake-speare's Sonnets.'

It may be worthy of notice that the entry in the register is not of ' Shake-speare's Sonnets ' but of ' a book called Shake-speare's Sonnets.'

The next reference is also in 1609, when the sonnets were printed by G. Eld and published by the said Thomas Thorpe under the name of Shake-speare with the following dedication :—

TO . THE . ONLIE . BEGETTER . OF .
THESE . INSVING . SONNETS .
MR . W . H . ALL . HAPPINESSE .
AND . THAT . ETERNITIE .
PROMISED .
BY .
OVR . EVER-LIVING . POET .
WISHETH .
THE . WELL-WISHING .
ADVENTVRER . IN .
SETTING .
FORTH .

T. T.

This is all the external evidence we have.

Nobody knows how or from whom Thorpe obtained possession of the sonnets. Most probably they came from some private family collection. But it does not follow that because they may have been found together they were all written by one man. The probability is that although many of them may have been the productions of one person, the writings of others had got mixed up with them before ' the onlie begetter ' procured them. Nor does the name Shake-speare prove that they, or any of them, were written by Shakespeare, whoever he may have been, any more than the name Shakespeare on *A London Prodigal* and the other plays previously mentioned prove that these plays were written by Shakespeare. No doubt Shakespeare was a well-known and popular

know him; namely, the before-mentioned Petition of the Burbages. When they mentioned Shaksper of Stratford to Pembroke they apparently thought it necessary to tell his lordship who he was, and they told him he was a 'deserving man' and a 'man player.'

The first ten lines of the 76th Sonnet are :—

> 'Why is my verse so barren of new pride,
> So far from variation or quick change?
> Why, with the time, do I not glance aside
> To new-found methods and to compounds strange?
> Why write I still all one, ever the same,
> And keep invention in a noted weed
> That every word doth almost tell my name
> Showing their birth, and where they did proceed?
> O! know, sweet love, I always write of you,
> And you and love are still my argument.'

In the above the writer says he is always writing to the same person and always writing on the same subject, namely, Love; so much so that every word doth almost tell his name.

Now, there is no doubt that many of the sonnets were addressed to the same person and that in them the subject that is constantly treated is Love. But Love in no way points to Shaksper of Stratford, nor is the name of Shaksper of Stratford 'almost,' or at all, revealed in every word. Of course, there are the so-called 'Will Sonnets' in which the name of 'Will' is mentioned, but they are only a few out of many, and the writer says his name is 'almost' told in 'every word.' The name of Shaksper of Stratford is certainly not told or even hinted at in 'every word.'

As love is the leading feature of a large number of the sonnets, it appears to me that the person who wrote them was somebody whose name was in some way associated with love. The name of Shaksper of Stratford was in no way associated with love.

I now come to the question of the much-discussed 'Dark Lady,' who it is suggested was the well-known Mary Fitton.

A difficulty presents itself at the very start; for the portraits of Mary Fitton now in existence show that she

was of fair complexion, and had brown hair and grey eyes.

We are asked to believe that Shaksper of Stratford, an uneducated rustic who had been a butcher's assistant, an ostler, and a call boy, and who was never more than a second-rate actor at the best, had the entrée into the private apartments of Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour, sat by the side of one of these Maids of Honour while she played the virginal to him, asked her to kiss him, and that eventually she became his mistress. The suggestion is so absurd that it is not worth the waste of time of further consideration. Mary Fitton had her lovers, but they were persons of her own station in life. She would have had nothing to do with such a person as Shaksper of Stratford.

But think what sort of man the assumption would make out Shaksper of Stratford to have been. He had obtained favours from a lady, and had the bad taste to write sonnets referring to these favours and allow them to circulate among his friends. Worse than this, when Thorpe got possession of these sonnets and by publishing them enabled the general public and the riff-raff of the London Taps to know all about these favours, he took no steps to stop the publication. I hope that Shaksper of Stratford was not such a despicable creature as the Shaksperian contention would make him out to have been.

Sonnet 130 is perhaps the best known of those supposed to refer to the so-called 'Dark Lady,' and in it a description of her personal appearance is supposed to be given.

I feel certain that this sonnet does not refer to Mary Fitton, or to any other woman whatever. It was evidently written by somebody as a reply to and a kind of parody of some extravagant verses written by Spenser which are to be found in his *Epithalamion*, his sonnets, and his hymns. Spenser's bombastic description of his mistress and his extravagant similes amused this 'somebody,' and in a spirit of pleasantry he wrote a reply describing his mistress in commonplace matter-of-fact terms. It was a sort of burlesque on Spenser's productions, and the

result was what is known as the 130th Shakespeare Sonnet, which has been the cause of all the trouble that has been taken to identify the so-called 'Dark Lady,' of all the nonsense that has been written about brunettes and blackamoors, and of all the futile efforts that have been made to discover a lady whose complexion was dun.

In order to explain my point I will give a few extracts from Spenser's verses, followed by the corresponding parody in the 130th Sonnet :—

'Long-while I sought to what I might compare
Those powerful eies, which lighten my dark spright :
Yet find I nought on earth, to which I dare
Resemble th' ymage of their goodly light.
Not to the sun ; for they do shine by night ;
Nor to the moone ; for they are changed never,' etc.

(SPENSER.)

'My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun.'

(Sonnet 130.)

'Her lips, like rosy buds in May.'
'Her lips lyke cherries charming men to byte.'

(SPENSER.)

'Coral is far more red than her lips' red.'

(Sonnet 130.)

'Her brest like to a bowl of creame uncudded.'
'Her brest, lyke lillyes, ere their leaves are shed.'

(SPENSER.)

'If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun.'

(Sonnet 130.)

'Her long loose yellow locks lyke golden wyre.'

(SPENSER.)

'If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head.'

(Sonnet 130.)

'Her ruddy cheekes, lyke unto roses red.'

(SPENSER.)

'I have seen roses damask'd, red and white,
But no such roses see I in her cheeks.'

(Sonnet 130.)

'Coming to kisse her lyps (such grace I found),
Me seemed, I smelt a gardin of sweet flowers,
That dainty odours from them threw around,
For damzels fit to decke their lovers bowres.'

Then follows a list, such as gillyflowers, roses red, budded bellamoures, pincks newly spred, a bounch of cullambynes, lillyes, and young blossomed jessemynes, and the verses continue :—

' Such fragrant floweres doe give most odorous smell ;
But her sweet odour did them all excell.'

(SPENSER.)

' And in some perfumes is there more delight
Than in the breath that from my mistress reeks.'

(Sonnet 130.)

' But when her words embassade forth she sends,
Lord, how sweete musicke that unto them lends ! '

(SPENSER.)

' I love to hear her speak, yet well I know
That music hath a far more pleasing sound.'

(Sonnet 130.)

' Loe ! where she comes along with portly pace
Lyke Phoebe, from her chamber of the East,
Arysing forth to run her mighty race,
Clad all in white, that seems a Virgin best.

. . . . . .

And all her body like a pallace fayre,
Ascending up, with many a stately stayre,
To Honors seat and Chastities sweet bowre.'

(SPENSER.)

' I grant I never saw a goddess go ;
My mistress, when she walks, treads on the ground.'

(Sonnet 130.)

Other sonnets no doubt refer to an existing woman, but she was not such a person as it has been assumed is described in the 130th Sonnet. She was a woman with dark eyes. For the purpose of identification I call her the ' Dark-eyed Lady.'

I will now take one or two points that appear to reflect incidents in the author's life.

The writer of the sonnets, or one of the writers, was evidently imbued with the philosophy of Giordano Bruno.

There is nothing to show that Shaksper of Stratford ever knew Bruno. From what we know of the Stratford man he is not likely to have taken the slightest interest either in Bruno or his philosophy. The probability is that he never heard of him.

In Sonnets 27 and 28 the author refers to a long journey that he has taken, and in Sonnets 48 to 51 he refers to another.

Shaksper of Stratford is not known to have ever taken a long journey. Sir Sidney Lee says it is improbable that he ever went abroad.

The author of some, at least, of the sonnets was evidently a person of position, and he was poor.

Shaksper of Stratford was not a man of position. He was an actor, and an actor in those days was regarded as of low class. He was not poor. As a part-proprietor of a theatre, and by exercising the business of a money-lender, he got together what for a man of his position may almost be regarded as a fortune. So much so, that comparatively early in life he was able to retire from the stage, settle down in life, and purchase considerable property.

At some period of his life the author passed through a period of depression. He contemplated an early death, and hinted at the possibility of death by the assassin's knife.

As far as we know, Shaksper of Stratford never passed through a period of depression, never contemplated an early death, and never went in fear of an assassin's knife.

The author speaks about being in disgrace with fortune.

Shaksper of Stratford had no cause to complain of fortune's frown. He commenced the business of life as a butcher's assistant, became an ostler, and rose from the humble status of a call boy to the lucrative position of a part-proprietor of a theatre. By making false statements he succeeded in obtaining a Grant of Arms from the Heralds' College. He got the credit of being the author of plays, poems, and sonnets that he never wrote and never claimed, and by carrying on the business of a moneylender he added to the profits that came to him from his share in the theatre, and was enabled to retire to a small country town where he became a rather big personage among his unlettered fellow townsmen. According to his admirers, from the time when he first

placed his foot on the first rung of the ladder of prosperity he ascended steadily step by step, never stopping, never looking back, until he reached the utmost top. How could such a man complain of being in disgrace with fortune or speak about ' the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune ' ?

The author and the author's friend seem to have had the same mistress, or at least the friend was in love with the author's mistress and had endeavoured to gain her affection, and the author's mistress had not objected to the friend's attentions.

Of the love affairs of Shaksper of Stratford we know very little. There is the unpleasant fact that within six months of his marriage a child was baptised. There is the statement as to the discreditable trick played on a brother actor, and there is the unsavoury tradition that he seduced the wife of a friend, but there is nothing to show that Shaksper of Stratford and the Earl of Southampton, or Shaksper of Stratford and the Earl of Pembroke, ever had a mistress in common. The suggestion of such a possibility seems to me too ridiculous to be entertained for a moment.

Sonnet 125 has been much discussed on account of the line :—

' Were 't aught to me I bore the canopy.'

Some commentators consider that the term ' bore the canopy ' is merely figurative, others that it refers to the fact that on some occasion the author helped to bear a canopy over either Elizabeth or James I. Various dates have been suggested, varying from the Armada year, 1588, when Elizabeth went in state to St. Paul's, to 1603-4, when James made his progress through London under a canopy.

To think that a person in the position of Shaksper of Stratford should ever have assisted in carrying a canopy over a queen or a king is to my mind absurd.

I have stated that I do not believe the Procreation sonnets were addressed to the Earl of Southampton. More than this I do not believe that any of the earlier ones were addressed to him. One of the reasons for

coming to this conclusion is that in the 20th Sonnet the person addressed is described as :—

'A man in hue, all hues in his controlling.'

Many attempts have been made to identify this man in hue who had all hues in his controlling. One was that he was W. Hughes, who it was also urged was the Mr. W. H. of the Dedication. If this had been so then the line would have been equivalent to :—

'A man in Hugh, all Hughes in his controlling,'

which is not intelligible. However, as nobody was able to find a suitable Mr. W. Hughes, the suggestion failed.

Then came Massey with the suggestion that the man in hue was the Earl of Essex; the proof brought forward being that the earldom was that of Essex and Ewe. If this had been able to stand, then the line would have been equivalent to :—

'A man in Ewe, all Ewes in his controlling,'

which is no more intelligible than, 'A man in Hugh, all Hughes in his controlling.'

A claim was put in on behalf of the Earl of Pembroke, because Lord Fitzhugh was one of his titles.

Then the name of Hughes came up again, says Walter Begley [1]; but not the same Hughes mentioned before. This time it was the William Hughes who took the women's parts in the Shakespeare plays. This fitted in well enough with some of the wording of the sonnets, and might have proved a valuable discovery, had it not been for the fact that this William Hughes existed only in the imagination of the discoverer.

To my mind all these efforts to solve the question lead to ridiculous nonsense.

Another explanation of the line is that it means, 'a man in hue, or complexion, who exerts, by virtue of his fascination, control or influence over the hues or complexion of all he meets.' An explanation that does not seem to me to make the line any more intelligible than it is in its unexplained state.

[1] *Is it Shakespeare?*

I am not aware of any attempt to fit in Southampton with the description given in the 20th Sonnet, and I claim that he cannot be fitted in.

As I have said, I do not believe that the Shakespeare sonnets were all written by one man, but are the writings of more than one man and possibly of several.

I do not believe that Shaksper of Stratford had anything at all to do with any of them.

I do not believe that Bacon was the author of the sonnets as a whole, though it is possible he may have written some of them. For example, if the 26th Sonnet was sent to Southampton with *Lucrece*, as has been suggested, then Bacon must have written it.

I do not believe that the description of the so-called 'Dark Lady' in the 130th Sonnet was the description of any existing woman.

I do not believe that the sonnets were addressed either to the Earl of Southampton or to the Earl of Pembroke.

I do not believe that the 'Dark-eyed Lady' referred to in the other sonnets was Mary Fitton, but a woman who was dead when the sonnets were published in 1609.

I believe that the largest number of the sonnets were written before Shaksper of Stratford left Stratford for London, by a man who in 1609 had been dead for some years. If the principal author of the sonnets was the person I think he was, and if the sonnets were circulated among his friends, then Bacon, and possibly Drayton also, is likely to have seen them in manuscript. This would be quite sufficient to account for the few similarities that are to be found in the sonnets and in certain passages in the plays.

I do not agree with Walter Begley [1] that the author of the sonnets was also the author of the Shakespeare plays. Bacon's authorship of the sonnets is in no way essential to the view I take with regard to the part taken by him in the plays. I do not think that the sonnets provide the road that leads to the solution of the mystery of the

[1] *Is it Shakespeare?*

plays, I regard the poems of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* as the keys that unlock the secret.

The identification of the personality of the principal author of the sonnets, of the persons to whom they were addressed, of 'the man in hue,' and of the 'Dark-eyed Lady,' is not within the scope of these Notes, nor is it essential to the object I have in view.

REASON 13

Those who believe that Shaksper of Stratford wrote the plays have to believe in a series of miracles, impossibilities and improbabilities, but those who believe that Francis Bacon revised existing plays have to believe in no miracles, impossibilities, or improbabilities at all.

THOSE who hold that Shaksper of Stratford was the author of the plays, the poems, and the sonnets, have to believe in the truth of the following statements.

1. A man was once born endowed with a vocabulary from five to seven times that of a man of average education, and from two to three times that of Milton, and endowed with the power of writing the most beautiful English ever known.

2. A man who spent the first twenty years of his life among rough and illiterate country folk, surrounded by the squalor of a dirty country town in Warwickshire, acquired so much refinement by working as an ostler in a stable and acting as call boy in a theatre, that he was enabled in a short time to write two poems on very questionable subjects, treat these subjects with the greatest possible delicacy, and not use in the poems a single Warwickshire word or phrase, and had such a knowledge of the French language that he was able to translate from Du Bartas.

3. A man who had been a butcher's assistant, a poacher, an ostler, and a call boy, and who became a second-rate actor, was familiar with Court life both in England and France. His familiarity with English Court life was acquired before he had ever had any experience of Court life or been present at any Court function, and his familiarity with French Court life was innate, for he never went abroad.

4. A man with the record before mentioned had the entrée to the private apartments of Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour, sat by the side of one of these Maids of Honour whilst she played the virginal to him, and eventually she became his mistress.

5. A man who was unknown as a poet, a writer of sonnets, or a dramatist, was asked to write sonnets to a leading peer on a private family matter and in writing them addressed the peer in familiar terms, or else wrote these sonnets to the peer on his own initiative and was not punished for impudently intermeddling in the private affairs of two of the most important families in the country.

6. A man who had never been abroad, and who had never studied either French or Italian, gained such a knowledge of these languages from frequenting taverns that he was able to write the whole scene of a play in French, and to translate Du Bartas, Ariosto, and Italian novels.

7. A man who if he ever was at school was only there for six years and left it when he was thirteen years old to become a butcher's assistant, who then became a stable hand, afterwards a call boy, and subsequently a second-class actor, who had no facility in the use of the pen and could only write his name with difficulty, wrote 37 plays, 2 poems, and 154 sonnets, which have been, and are still, the wonder of the world. He was so familiar with Lord Burleigh, knew so much about his secret system of espionage, and was so well acquainted with the details of his inner home life, that he was enabled to satirise him in one of his plays.

8. The author of these 37 plays had no fixed style of writing of his own, but in different parts of his plays adopted the style of several other writers.

9. The most prolific period of the production of these plays was at a time when their author must have been engaged in acquiring the knowledge it was necessary for him to have in order to be able to write them.

10. The author of these plays, whose want of education has been mentioned, was a great classical scholar. He anglicised a number of Latin words, wrote sentences in

English of Latin construction that have to be parsed by the rules of the Latin grammar, and by his references and illustrations shows that he was a wide reader of the Greek and Latin writers. But he possessed no books of his own, and there is no evidence that he ever wrote letters to anybody.

11. The author of the plays, who had never had any legal training, by being engaged in petty law cases relating to small debts, and by strolling into the Law Courts, gained such a knowledge of law that it has astonished some of the greatest English lawyers, and his mind was so saturated with law, even of the most abstruse kind, that he used it as illustrations in innumerable instances both appropriate and inappropriate.

12. The author of the plays, who had had no philosophical training and no chance of philosophical reading, was a great philosopher who held several strange and original views.

13. The philosophy of the author of the plays was the same as that of a great contemporary philosopher. He studied on the same lines, arrived at the same conclusions, and made the same mistakes as this contemporary. In some instances he changed his philosophical views in the same way that this contemporary changed his, and in one case his change of view was made public at the same time that the change of view of this contemporary appeared, which was seven years after the author's death.

14. The author of the plays used many unusual terms and phrases, and a large number of words with the same unusual meaning, that the before-mentioned philosopher used.

15. The author in writing the plays was in no way influenced by his own environments, but was influenced by the environments of another man. He did not place the scenes of his plays in localities with which he was himself familiar, but placed them in localities with which this other man was familiar. He wrote no passages that in any way reflected incidents in his own life or referred to his own studies, but he wrote many that reflected incidents in the life of and referred to the special

studies of this other man ; and he wrote several passages that illustrated and described the feelings of this other man after a great trouble, which trouble did not occur till four years after the author's death.

16. The author of the plays and this same other man both anticipated in principle Newton's discovery of gravitation.

17. The author of the plays changed the character of his plays, not in consequence of any events that occurred in his own life, but in consequence of events that occurred in the life of this other man.

18. The author in writing his plays made considerable use of a private notebook compiled by this other man, and in one instance took from this notebook the title of one of the plays that he wrote many years after the entry was made.

19. The author of the plays anticipated Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood.

20. The author produced most of the plays at a time when he was endeavouring to get on as an actor ; when his time was less occupied he wrote fewer plays ; when he retired from the stage and had ample time at his disposal he wrote no more plays up to the time of his death.

21. The author of the plays was a man of the lower class who sympathised with persons of aristocratic birth, made them and their affairs the subject of his writings, and held up the members of his own class to ridicule and contempt.

22. A man who in his writings had held up ignorance to scorn, allowed his own children to grow up absolutely uneducated.

23. A man who took legal proceedings for the recovery of small debts, took no proceedings when publishers pirated his plays and palmed off spurious writings as his.

24. A man who did business as a moneylender showed a strong disapproval of usury in his writings, and gibbeted one of his own craft in the character of Shylock.

25. A man who, according to tradition, was given to over-indulgence in the drinking bowl, showed in his

writings that he had the greatest possible disgust for intemperance.

26. A man who seduced his wife before he married her, who apparently committed adultery with the wife of a friend, and who played a low trick on a fellow actor in regard to a woman of easy virtue, created those beautiful examples of pure womanhood that are found in the plays and in *Lucrece*.

27. A man who had mixed in London with educated and intellectual people, chose at the end of his life to return to a bookless town and live with ignorant and illiterate associates.

28. The author of the poems that had been so popular and of the plays that had so pleased both the people and the Courts of Elizabeth and James I., was thought so little of that when he died not one of his contemporaries considered it worth while to refer to his death.

29. If the earlier dates given to some of the plays are correct, a schoolboy of twelve wrote *The Comedy of Errors*, had so much knowledge of Latin that he was able to translate Plautus, and had such influence at the Court of Elizabeth that he was able to arrange for the play to be produced before the Queen. On the same assumption, a butcher's assistant at the age of fifteen wrote *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice*, and had so much knowledge of Italian that he was able to translate an Italian novel, and at the age of twenty wrote *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, had so much knowledge of Spanish that he was able to translate the romance of Diana, and had such influence at Court that he was able to get his play acted before Elizabeth. This same butcher's assistant at the age of twenty-three and while he was still at Stratford was a member of the Court of Elizabeth, and wrote a satire on the other members of the Court.

30. The author of the plays was not considered worthy of notice as a dramatist by either Henslowe, Alleyne, Lodge, Guilpin, or Dr. Peter Heylyn.

31. The author of the plays was only regarded by the Burbages as a ' deserving man ' and an ordinary ' man player ' ranking with Heminge, Condell, and Philips.

32. The author of the plays was a glorious vagabond who mouthed words that better wits had framed, and was proud of speaking the words of other people upon the stage.

33. The author of the plays was held up to ridicule by Ben Jonson in his plays, was referred to as a ' Poet Ape,' and possibly as a ' Groom Idiot,' in his epigrams, and was not considered worthy of being mentioned by him among the leading writers of his time.

The above is what those who hold that Shaksper of Stratford was the author of the Shakespeare plays, poems, and sonnets have to believe. In other words, they have to believe in a series of miracles, impossibilities, and improbabilities. But those who hold that Francis Bacon revised existing plays written by other men have to believe in nothing of this sort ; it is merely the case of a man of great intellect, well trained and highly educated, who had taken all knowledge to be his province, revising and adding to other men's work, and drawing his additions from his multifarious store of information and learning. If Bacon's revision is admitted, then all miracles, all impossibilities, and all improbabilities vanish at once ; and that is why I have at the beginning of these Notes said that the Baconians are in the position of the Trismegistus of Bacon's *Device* performed at Gray's Inn in 1594 ; because, having added ' depth of knowledge,' they have caused all the ' miracles and wonders ' necessary to the Shaksperian belief to cease, inasmuch as they ' have discovered their natural causes.'

Science simply means knowledge, and Huxley says that ' science is simply common sense at its best.'

Superstition has been defined as ' belief in anything without sufficient evidence.'

By inquiry and research the Baconians have gained knowledge, and to knowledge they have applied common sense.

The belief of the Shaksperians rests on blind trust.

The contest of the Baconians versus the Shaksperians is the contest of science versus superstition.

Bacon in his ' Essay of Superstition ' says :—

> ' In all superstitions Wise men follow Fooles.'

A SUMMARY

A LEADING Shaksperian, speaking of what he considers the impossibility of Francis Bacon having written any of the works assigned to Shaksper of Stratford, says :—

'Defective knowledge and illogical or casuistic argument alone render any other conclusion possible.'

'When any of the genuinely deluded victims have been narrowly examined they have invariably exhibited a tendency to monomania.'

After having given a good deal of time and thought to the study of a subject it is somewhat depressing to realise what others think of the result of your work. But John Bright said : 'Any man who believes that William Shakespeare of Stratford wrote *Hamlet* or *King Lear* is a fool,' and among those who take the same view as John Bright, although they have not expressed themselves so forcibly, are Lord Palmerston, Lord Houghton, Nathaniel Hawthorne, James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sir Edwin Arnold, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Greenleaf Whittier, Mark Twain, and Prince Bismarck. So I feel that I am not in bad company.

The contents of these Notes may be divided into two main arguments: First, that Shaksper of Stratford was not the author of the plays, the poems, or the sonnets; and, Second, that Francis Bacon was the author of *Venus and Adonis* and of *Lucrece*, and the reviser of existing plays that had been written by other men, and that he produced both the poems and the revised plays under the *nom de plume* of Shakespeare.

It is almost impossible to prove a negative by direct evidence, and all that can be done to prove that Shaksper of Stratford was not the author is to produce presumptive evidence that he could not have written the plays, the poems, or the sonnets, and direct and circumstantial evidence that they were written by others. The most important presumptive, circumstantial, and direct evi-

dence gathered together in these Notes may be shortly summarised as follows.

A perusal of the plays shows that the person responsible for them was a classical scholar, a modern linguist, a philosopher, an aristocrat, and a Protestant, and was familiar with Court life both in England and France ; in short, that he was a man of great intellect and highly educated.

Shaksper of Stratford was a man of low birth. He had little education, as shown by his signatures and by the fact that he allowed his children to grow up uneducated. He possessed no books, and at the end of his life chose to retire to a bookless country town, where he would only have ignorant and illiterate associates. Practically nothing is known of his life, but if credence can be given to tradition, he was not the stamp of man that the person responsible for the plays must have been.

He never laid claim to the poems or to any of the plays, never took proceedings when publishers, as Shaksperians say, pirated his plays, and never disavowed spurious writings that were published under the same name as the Shakespeare plays.

He was not mentioned by Henslowe, Alleyne, Lodge, Guilpin, or Heylyn as a dramatist. There is no reference to him personally by any of his contemporaries as a literary man, and the Burbages in their petition to the Lord Chamberlain refer to him only as a ' deserving man ' and a ' man player.'

His social position makes his authorship of the sonnets an impossibility.

Ben Jonson held him up to ridicule in his plays, and to all appearance in his epigrams as well, and did not include him in his list of the great writers of his time.

When he died no reference to his death was made by any of his contemporaries. Had he been a great author some contemporary would have been certain to notice his death.

There are many passages in the plays that are absolutely inconsistent with what is known of his life, either from established fact or from tradition.

A man with Shaksper of Stratford's moral record, as shown by his marriage and by tradition, could not have created the examples of pure womanhood that are found in the plays and in *Lucrece*.

The signatures of Shaksper of Stratford show that he wrote with difficulty, and that his writing was laboured and slow. It would have been a mechanical impossibility for a man who had no facility in the use of the pen to write the voluminous manuscripts involved in composing the Shakespeare plays.

The author of the Shakespeare plays must have written letters. Letters circulate far and wide and pass into many hands. If Shaksper of Stratford had written letters some of them must have survived ; but as far as is known there are none in existence.

Francis Bacon was the author of *Venus and Adonis* and of *Lucrece*, and produced them under the *nom de plume* of William Shakespeare.

The phenomenal vocabulary of the Shakespeare plays, and the diversity of style, that appears not only in the different plays but also in some of the individual plays, show that these plays were not written wholly by one man. Writing in the style of several well-known writers, and, in particular, writing in the style of Michael Drayton, Thomas Dekker, and Francis Bacon, is found in the plays.

Several literary authorities, judging only from his acknowledged prose works, have declared that Francis Bacon had a strong poetical faculty, and several of his contemporaries referred to him as the greatest poet of their time.

Bacon referred to himself, and was referred to by some of his contemporaries, as a concealed poet, and there were reasons why he should not wish the part he had taken in the poems and the plays to be made public.

The plays reflect many incidents in Bacon's life, and some passages that were not known till 1623 refer to Bacon's fall, which occurred in 1621, five years after the death of Shaksper of Stratford.

Considerable use is made in the plays of Bacon's private notebook known as the ' Promus.'

Many unusual terms and phrases, and many words used with an unusual meaning, are common both to the plays and to Bacon's acknowledged prose works.

Portions of Bacon's philosophy are reproduced in the plays, frequently in an amplified form, and in some cases this philosophy appeared in the plays before it was made public in Bacon's acknowledged works.

Certain errors that appear in Bacon's acknowledged works appear also in the plays, and certain errors that Bacon corrected in his acknowledged works were also corrected in the plays, one change of view in the plays appearing seven years after the death of Shaksper of Stratford.

Ben Jonson used almost the same words in his *Discoveries* in reference to Bacon that he had used in the First Folio in reference to the person responsible for the plays.

Ben Jonson's plays show he was aware that Bacon was engaged in writing poetry and dramatic works.

Bacon considered that his call in life was to educate and improve the mental condition of his fellow creatures. He considered that the drama was an educating factor, and the Shakespeare plays carry out his ideal. In his *De Augmentis*, published in 1623, he practically admits that he has been engaged in writing poetry, but says he intends forthwith to devote himself to science.

When Bacon died there were numerous references by his contemporaries to his death. Many of these contemporaries referred to him as a great poet, one of them called him a teller of tales that had mazed the Courts of Kings, and another said that he incorporated his philosophy in comedies and tragedies.

In the early part of these Notes I have given reasons why, as I believe, Bacon interested himself in play-writing. Of these the main one was his desire to educate his fellow men. There were no papers or periodicals in the days of Elizabeth and James, and his only means of appealing to and educating the majority of the people was through the drama. He took up existing plays, many of which were more or less known to and popular with the people, and he revised them. He left out some portions, touched

up others, and added his philosophy ; the added portions being well calculated to improve the minds of the hearers and make them better men and women. But he did not intend that the revised plays should only be acted on the stage ; he wished them to be read and studied in the same way that he wished his prose works to be read and studied. So when he felt that his end was near, having got the plays known by means of the stage, he gathered them together, gave them a final revision, and published them in the First Folio, in order that this branch of his educating scheme should not be lost, but should be found in one volume and have its influence on the generations to come. As I have shown in these Notes, his view was that ' the verses of a poet endure without a syllable lost, while States and Empires pass many periods.'

Drayton, Dekker, Chettle, Monday, and the other writers whose works Bacon revised, wrote a number of plays, many of which are lost and many of the remainder forgotten. Bacon by his revision saved some of these plays from oblivion, and by his alterations and additions made them what they are now, the marvel of the world and the pride of the English-speaking people.

Everybody who reads the Shakespeare plays carefully must be struck by their great unevenness. They contain passages of the greatest beauty that have never been surpassed and perhaps never equalled by anything ever written in the English language. On the other hand, they contain passages wanting both in dignity and refinement. It is possible that in these inferior passages may be found remnants of the parts added by Shaksper of Stratford when the plays were performed, although it is probable that most of them were omitted when the plays were published. I believe that these inferior passages were the parts of the original plays that Bacon considered it advisable to retain when he revised them. His object was to attract the people, and he had to leave in such things as he knew had appealed and would appeal to them. If the whole of the plays had been in the style of Hamlet's soliloquy, the uneducated public would not have been attracted.

Bacon wrote the poems and revised the plays under the *nom de plume* of William Shakespeare, and I believe he adopted that name because he wished to shake a spear at ignorance, because he was coupled with Pallas at Gray's Inn, and because he had come across a man with a somewhat similar name who would be useful as an 'Instrument' and who was willing to be used as an 'Instrument' provided he received something in return.

The reason why the particular *nom de plume* was adopted is not important, but the fact that it was adopted is important, and this fact is proved by the poems of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*. These poems are to my mind the touchstone that solves the mystery that has for so long surrounded the authorship of the Shakespeare plays. That Bacon wrote them there can, I think, be no doubt; Marston and Hall prove the fact. They also prove that Bacon wrote them under the *nom de plume* of William Shakespeare.

At one time, like many Baconians, I thought that Bacon was the author of the sonnets; but further reading caused me to change my opinion, and I now think that he probably had no more to do with them than Shaksper of Stratford had. He may, however, have written some of them.

At the time when the First Folio was published, Ben Jonson, who took such a prominent part in its production, was one of Bacon's literary assistants. The Folio was dedicated to two peers who were absolute strangers to Shaksper of Stratford, although the Earl of Southampton, who the Shaksperians say was his lifelong patron, was still alive. It was not published till seven years after Shaksper of Stratford's death. The editors' statement that the manuscripts of Shaksper of Stratford were received by them without a blot on them is a palpable falsehood. The introductory remarks are, to say the least, very suspicious. All these facts, to my mind, show that the publication was not a *bona fide* collection of the works of Shaksper of Stratford gathered together by Heminge and Condell, and the so-called portrait by Droeshout—which is not a portrait at all—and the verses

of B. I. referring to it, show clearly that Shaksper of Stratford was not the author of the plays contained in the volume.

There are three classes of Shaksperians. The first class comprises those who have studied the plays and have come to the conclusion that they were written by Shaksper of Stratford. They must be treated with respect, although we may not agree with their conclusions. The second class comprises those who say that we have the plays and they do not care who wrote them. They pose as being above such a trivial matter as the determination of the true author. Fortunately, they are not numerous. The third class comprises those who have never inquired into the matter, and in some cases may not even have read all the plays, but are quite convinced that the plays were written by ' Shakespeare.' This class is the largest of all. The incubus of inertia is hard to overcome, but if some of the members of this class will only give a little time and thought to an endeavour to determine who ' Shakespeare ' was, I feel certain they will derive a great deal of pleasure out of it. If they will begin by carefully reading one of the many Lives of Shakespeare that have been published, and make a point of finding evidence for the numerous assumptions stated as facts, I feel certain they will come to the conclusion that whoever ' Shakespeare ' may have been he was certainly not Shaksper of Stratford, and that the latter was not the author of either the plays, the poems, or the sonnets.

Both Baconians and Shaksperians agree that the plays were produced under the name of Shakespeare. But there is no satisfactory evidence to show that such an individual as William Shakespeare or William Shake-speare ever existed in the time of Elizabeth or James. The Baconians contend that William Shakespeare and William Shake-speare were pseudonyms adopted by Francis Bacon, the Shaksperians that they were William Shaksper spelt and pronounced in a manner that neither he nor any member of his family ever adopted or used, and in a manner that there was no reason he ever should adopt or use. Shaksperians in their biographies of

Shaksper of Stratford endeavour to fit their man into the Shakespeare plays, Baconians endeavour to show that the Shakespeare plays fit their man.

There seems to be an idea that the Baconians wish to change the title of the plays. This is not so. Whoever was responsible for them they will always be the ' Shakespeare plays,' in the same way that Scott's novels will always be the ' Waverley Novels.'

The vested interests of Shaksper of Stratford are strong in sentiment, in literary reputation, and in pecuniary outlay. For many years he has been regarded almost as a deity, and there are many who resent any attempt to dethrone him. But they should remember that if he is dethroned a greater than he takes his place.

England is proud of the person responsible for the Shakespeare plays ; but if it is ever admitted—as I feel certain it will be some day if people will only study the subject for themselves instead of taking the assertive assumptions of others as facts—that that person was Francis Bacon, the great philosopher, statesman, thinker, and prose writer, she will have reason to be still more proud of her son.

PART II

DEDUCTIONS FROM SOME SO-CALLED PORTRAITS

I think it advisable to draw attention to the remarks at the end of the Introduction to these Notes in which I have said that, except in the case of what is said about the Droeshout print, I do not regard Part II. as important, and that no claim for Bacon's authorship is based on the particulars stated in Part II.

FOR many years past the Shaksperians have contended that the Droeshout portrait in the First Folio and Ben Jonson's verses 'To the Reader' referring to it, prove that Shaksper of Stratford wrote the plays. The print and the verses have been called Shaksper of Stratford's title-deeds to his own property. As a matter of fact, they are the very strongest proof of the opposite, and, to my mind, show absolutely clearly and without any possible doubt that Ben Jonson knew Shaksper of Stratford was not the author.

Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, in *Bacon is Shakespeare*, has pointed out that the so-called portrait is not a portrait at all, but a figure made up with a mask and two left arms. This is not a matter of opinion; any one can see it for himself.

It is not everybody who is the possessor of a copy of the First Folio; but copies can be seen in various libraries. A most excellent photographic reproduction of the Chatsworth copy was issued by the Clarendon Press in 1902, and can still be obtained. All references to the First Folio in Part II. of these Notes have been checked by looking them up in this reproduction.

Any one looking at the Droeshout print in the First Folio will see at once that Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence is correct; there can be no doubt on the matter. The

mask is there, and so are the two left arms. The real left arm is a proper left arm, but the apparent right arm is really the back of a left arm. The line of the mask can be clearly seen on the left-hand side of the so-called face—that is, on the right-hand side of the so-called face as you look at the print. The ear is not a human ear ; it is the ear of a mask—a sort of convex bulge.

The best preserved copy of the Droeshout print is said to be the one in the Bodleian Library. I have examined this print and find that the description given above applies to it absolutely. The two left arms, the line of the mask, and the convex ear are as distinct as they are in the photographic reproduction of the Chatsworth print.

Sir Edwin does not say anything about the collar, which to my mind is an impossible collar. A reference to Fairholt's *Costume in England* shows that two kinds of collars were worn in the time of Elizabeth and James I. ; namely, the ruff that stood out stiffly from the neck and which is well known from the portraits of the time, and a soft collar made from some soft material such as cambric, that fell down on to the shoulders, such as is seen in the Chandos portrait. But the collar in the First Folio print is neither the one nor the other. It is made out of cambric or some other semi-transparent soft material, but it stands out stiffly as though manufactured out of sheet iron. Such a collar never existed, and never could have existed.

I cannot help thinking that that impossible collar is put in not only, like the two left arms and the mask, to show that the print was not intended to be a portrait, but also for some other possible purpose. But I do not wish by an endeavour to make too much out of the Droeshout print to spoil what has already been done ; for as Albany says in *King Lear*, Act I. Scene iv., ' striving to better, oft we mar what 's well ' ; so I only make the following remarks.

If the print is looked at from the right-hand side, the collar looks very much like a capital ' B ' with the right-hand side of the letter hidden by the mask. The points on the collar, which at first sight appear to be intended for pleats, are not pleats at all, and are rather suggestive

of the points of a star radiating from behind the mask. It will be remembered that Bacon had pointed stars on the quarterings of his arms.

Another point in the print to which I wish to draw attention is the enormous size of the head in proportion to the body. I take the points of the shoulders as being at the start of what for want of a better term I call the epaulettes. I think this is correct; for if we continue the line of the so-called right arm up to the top line of the right shoulder we shall find that these lines meet at the springing of the epaulette. If we measure the breadth of the shoulders from tip to tip we shall find that it is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches. If we measure the length of the head from the forehead to the chin we shall find that it is $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches. If we measure the breadth of the face from cheek to cheek we shall find that it is about $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The exact breadth cannot be measured accurately owing to the mask being not quite full face.

These proportions are unlike anything to be met with in human nature. They mean that if a man has shoulders 18 inches wide, which I think is a fair average, he would have, if he were built on the same lines as the monstrosity in the First Folio, a head more than 1 foot $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long from forehead to chin, and just 9 inches wide from cheek to cheek. I ask anybody who may happen to read these Notes to measure the breadth of his own shoulders, and then to work out from the above proportions measured from the First Folio print what the size of his head would be if he were shaped on these lines. I am sure the result will be rather a surprise.

I have endeavoured to obtain from Shaksperians some explanation of Droeshout's print and to find out what they have to say about the various points I have mentioned, and I felt comforted with the thought that in this case at any rate they could not put me off by saying that it was because Shaksper of Stratford was a genius. Up to the present time I have only received one answer to my question. It was from an authority at Stratford, who said the explanation was that 'the portrait was drawn by an ignorant boy.'

Would Ben Jonson, if he were desirous of printing a book as a monument to the memory of a much beloved and greatly esteemed deceased friend, have employed an ignorant boy to draw his portrait? Would he not see at once that the print made by the ignorant boy was not a portrait at all, but an ill-proportioned dummy made up of two left arms, a mask, and an impossible collar? Was Jonson a fool? To my mind the Droeshout print shows conclusively that the First Folio was not the *bona fide* production that it has for so long been supposed to be, and that Shaksper of Stratford was not the author of the plays contained in it. Ben Jonson could not possibly have placed the print in the volume as a genuine portrait. I feel sure that he knew well enough what he was doing.

Having criticised Droeshout's print, Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence asks his readers to look again at Ben Jonson's verses 'To the Reader,' which refer to the print. I now do this, and I notice one or two points that are not mentioned by Sir Edwin.

These verses are well known, but in order to save the trouble of looking them up I think it well to set them out here. They are:—

> 'This Figure, that thou here seest put,
> It was for gentle Shakespeare cut;
> Wherein the Grauer had a strife
> With Nature, to out-doo the life:
> O, could he but haue drawne his wit
> As well in brasse, as he hath hit
> His face; the Print would then surpasse
> All, that vvas euer vvrit in brasse.
> But, since he cannot, Reader, looke
> Not on his Picture, but his Booke.
>
> B. I.'

The first point to be noticed is that the print is not called a portrait; it is called a 'Figure.' It is clear from the very start that Ben Jonson was aware that the print was not, and was not intended to be, a portrait.

The next point to be noticed is the word 'for' in the second line.

In lines 58 to 63 of the verses 'To the Memory of my beloved the Author,' Ben Jonson says:—

> ' That he
> Who casts to write a living line, must sweat
> (Such as thine are) and strike the second heat
> Upon the Muses anvile ; turne the same,
> (And himselfe with it) that he thinks to frame ;
> Or for the lawrell, he may gaine a scorne.'

There can be no possible doubt that in the last line of the above extract the word ' for ' is used with the meaning of ' instead of.' Jonson's meaning is that if a poet does not work hard, then instead of gaining the laurel he will only gain scorn.

It is only within the rules of ordinary common sense to read the word ' for ' in the second line of the verses ' To the Reader ' with the same meaning as the word ' for ' in the sixty-third line of the verses ' To the Memory of my beloved, the Author.' If this be done, then this second line means that the ' Figure ' was put in ' instead of ' the portrait of the real author ; for I do not think I shall be trespassing upon the susceptibilities of any one, whether he be Shaksperian or Baconian, by saying that ' gentle Shakespeare ' means the author of the plays, whoever he may have been.

The next point to be noticed is the phrase ' the grauer had a strife with Nature.' I think it will be generally agreed that the meaning of this is that the engraver ' found it difficult ' to out-do the life.

I now come to the hyphened word ' out-doo.' Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence says that all or nearly all words beginning with ' out ' may be read reversed, and that therefore we may read ' out-doo the life ' as ' doo out the life.' If, however, we refer to Richardson's Dictionary we shall find it is not a question of ' may ' but of ' must ' ; for not only is the meaning of ' out-do ' given as ' do-out,' but the Latin equivalents given are ' delere,' ' demere,' and ' extinguere.' So the meaning of ' out-doo ' must be taken as to efface or hide.

The phrase ' hide the life ' is rather ambiguous, and I suggest that the meaning of ' Wherein the grauer had a strife with Nature to out-doo the life ' is that ' the engraver found it difficult to hide the live author,' that is to hide the author who was still living.

I notice in passing the words, ' O, could he but have drawn his wit.' May it not be that this idea was suggested by the inscription round Hilliard's portrait of Bacon, ' Si tabula daretur digna, animam mallem ? '

The next words to be noticed are ' in brasse.' The word ' brass ' when used figuratively means ' impudence.' There is a note on Folio 126 of the Promus, ' Brazed (impudent),' which shows that Bacon contemplated the use of the word with this meaning. Therefore, the sentence ' could he but have drawne his wit as well in brasse as ' may mean ' could he but have drawn his wit as impudently as,' and the sentence ' the Print would then surpasse all that was euer writ in brasse ' may mean, ' the Print would then surpass all that was ever impudently written.' Most people will admit that, if Shaksper of Stratford got the credit of having written the plays that were written by others and revised by Bacon, he may be said to have written impudently.

The next thing to be noticed is the word ' hit ' at the end of the sixth line.

The author of *Bacon is Shakespeare* quotes the following two lines from Chaucer's ' Squire's Tale.'

> ' Right as a serpent hit him under flowrs
> Til he may seen his tyme for to byte.'

The word ' hit ' comes from the verb ' hiden,' to hide, and the example given of its use in the Oxford Dictionary is the above quotation from the ' Squire's Tale.'

Here Chaucer used the word ' hit ' with its old meaning of ' hid,' and Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence suggests that Jonson also uses the word ' hit ' for ' hid.' I would rather suggest that Jonson uses the word at Bacon's suggestion or that Bacon uses the word himself ; for, if Bacon was responsible for the plays, the First Folio must have been brought out under his supervision. This use of the word ' hit ' for ' hid ' is just the sort of thing one would expect from Bacon, who was probably as familiar with the English of Chaucer as he was with the Greek of Plato and the Latin of Ovid.

I take the meaning of the last two lines of the verses to be that, as the engraver had not been able to give a portrait

of the real author or to depict his wit, the reader is to take no notice of the print, but is to consider the author's writings.

The last point I wish to mention is the 'B. I.' at the end of the verses.

These letters have hitherto been taken as standing for Ben Jonson; but it has always appeared strange to me that Ben Jonson should have put his name in full at the end of his verses to the memory of the author and should have only put his initials at the end of the verses to the reader, if he wrote the latter. It may be that the initials B. I. stand for Ben Jonson, but I suggest that they may stand for 'Baconus Inventor.' Perhaps the word 'inventor' is not quite the proper one to use for a literary author; but it was used with that meaning by Dryden in his Dedication to the Marquis of Normanby of his translation of the *Æneid*, where he says:—

> 'Who then can pass for an inventor, if Homer, as well as Virgil, must be deprived of that glory?'

Moreover, the word might apply, not only to the author of the verses, but also to the inventor of the scheme of the Droeshout print to which the verses refer. I think it possible that Bacon used the less correct word with the object of hoodwinking the reader and making him think that the author of the verses was Ben Jonson. If this is so, he succeeded in his object.

The verses 'To the Reader' are printed by Gifford as one of Jonson's *Underwoods*; but he says that the poems under this head 'with the exception of a small number taken from published volumes' were found amongst Jonson's papers, and in a note to the verses themselves he says:—

> 'I have thought it best to interrupt the arrangement of the old folio in this place, for the sake of inserting such pieces of Jonson, as have not hitherto found a place in his works.'

From this it appears that the verses 'To the Reader' were taken from a published volume, that is from the First Folio, and had not been included amongst Jonson's acknowledged works until Gifford published his edition

in 1816. If Jonson had been the author of the verses one would have thought he would have included them in the folio edition of his works that he published in 1616.

The verses 'To the Reader' have two readings and can be read with two meanings; the one clear, the other hidden. The first meaning, that is, the one usually given to them, the one that they appear to have when they are first read, would be quite correct if the print to which they refer was a portrait. But the print is not a portrait; it is, to use a somewhat vulgar expression, a put-up job; and as soon as this is realised the second or hidden meaning comes to the fore and runs somewhat as follows:—

'The Dummy that you see placed here
Is put instead of the Author's portrait,
The engraver found it difficult
To hide the Author, who is still living.
If he could have drawn the Author's wit
As impudently as he has hidden
His face, the print would have surpassed
All that has been impudently written.
But as he could not, Reader, take no notice
Of the print, but consider the Author's writings.

I can quite see that many may say it is only by the chance wording of the verses that they can have such a possible interpretation as the above; but nobody can say that it is by chance that the so-called portrait has been drawn with a mask, two left arms, and an impossible collar. How could any man have written verses to such a put-up job unless he intended them to have some such meaning as I have suggested? The verses, if they are only to have their first meaning, are not at all creditable to Ben Jonson or to anybody else, and it seems incredible that he or anybody else could have put his initials to such wretched stuff; for Jonson, and Bacon also, could write good verse. If, however, they have a second meaning, as I feel certain they have, then, considering the way in which the writer was hampered, they are exceedingly clever. They are a strange concoction, and strange results have been drawn from them. I mention one of these results.

An ingenious person—I do not know his name, nor did Walter Begley, who mentioned the matter in an

Appendix to his book, *Is it Shakespeare?*—makes out the following.

He takes the first 'F,' in 'Figure,' and proceeding straight forward letter by letter, spells out :—

'Francis Saint Albans his Booke.'

The final word 'Booke' is the last word in the verses.

He then takes the second 'f,' in 'for,' and proceeding as before again spells out :—

'Francis Saint Albans his Booke.'

He then takes the third 'f,' in 'strife,' and spells out :—

'Francis Saint Alb his Booke.'

He then takes the fourth 'f,' in 'life,' and again spells out :—

'Francis Saint Alb his Booke.'

He then takes the fifth 'f,' in 'face,' and spells out :—

'Francis B his Booke.'

He then returns to the fourth 'f,' in 'life,' and spells out :—

'Francis Bacon his Booke.'

He then takes the third 'f,' in 'strife,' and again spells out :—

'Francis Bacon his Booke.'

In all the above sentences the last word 'Booke' is the last word of the verses.

He then takes the second 'f,' in 'for,' and again spells out :—

'Francis Bacon his Booke.'

Finally he takes the first 'F,' in 'Figure,' and again spells out :—

'Francis Bacon his Booke.'

I may remark that Bacon was not Viscount Saint Albans ; he was Viscount Saint Alban. The 'ingenious person' should have omitted the final 's' of 'Albans.' If he had done this he would have found that his spelling out resulted in 'Francis Saint Alban his booke,' both when he took the first 'F,' in 'Figure,' and the second 'f,' in 'for.' The only difference would have been that the

final word 'booke' would have been made up of the 'b' in 'but' and the 'ooke' in 'Booke.'

There are many who hold that the Droeshout print and the verses 'To the Reader' settle the question of the authorship of the Shakespeare plays once and for all. I agree with this to the extent that they prove conclusively that Shaksper of Stratford was not the author of the plays contained in the First Folio.

It has been pointed out that the lines from *The Tempest* :—

> 'As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
> Let your indulgence set me free,'

make the Anagram :—

> 'Tempest of Francis Bacon, Lord Verul'm,
> Do ye ne'er divulge me ye words.'

If such an anagram was intended it is placed in an appropriate place, for the extract consists of the last two lines of the Epilogue to the play which, as I have said before, some people consider was Bacon's literary testament. In the First Folio these two lines are not printed directly under the preceding ones, as they are in modern editions, but a little to the right, as though to draw attention to them.

An objection has been raised that Bacon was not Lord Verulam at the time *The Tempest* was written. According to Halliwell-Phillipps the play existed in 1611, and Bacon was not created Lord Verulam till 1618.

The answer to this objection is that *The Tempest* was not published till 1623. What the play that existed in 1611 was like nobody can say. The lines may have been added when the play was revised for publication in the First Folio.

I think the best known reputed likenesses of Shaksper of Stratford are, the Chandos portrait, the bust in the possession of the Garrick Club, the Death Mask in the Birth House at Stratford, the bust of the monument in Stratford Church, the portrait in the Birth House that is kept in a kind of safe, the portrait in the Memorial Gallery at Stratford, and the Droeshout print in the First Folio. I may remark that if any one of them is genuine, the others

are not, for no two of them, except the sixth and the seventh, have the slightest resemblance to each other.

Speaking of the Chandos portrait, the late Andrew Lang in *Shakespeare, Bacon, and the Great Unknown* says that in his opinion it ' is of no more authority than any other portrait of Shakespeare. None of them, I conceive, was painted from the life.' Andrew Lang can, I think, be taken as an authority on the Shaksperian side ; so on the strength of this remark in his book I do not think it necessary to say anything about the first five of the so-called portraits above mentioned. As his book was published in 1912 it would appear that he included the picture in the Memorial Gallery as one of those that was not painted from life ; but as this picture has been much discussed in recent years, I do not think it would be right to dismiss it without some consideration. Some people consider this picture a genuine portrait ; others consider it a forgery. Its importance lies in the fact that it is very similar in some respects to the Droeshout print. It has the same enormous head and diminutive body and the same impossible collar, but it has not the line on the left cheek or the convex bulge for an ear that in the print show that the face is a mask ; and it has not got two left arms, or at least it is so indistinct that one cannot say definitely that it has two left arms. A reproduction of this picture is given in Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of William Shakespeare*.

Speaking of the Droeshout print in the Introduction to the photographic reproduction of the First Folio, Sir Sidney Lee says :—

> ' It followed a painting, possibly the " Flower " Portrait of Shakespeare now in the Memorial Gallery at Stratford-on-Avon. That picture is believed to have been painted in Shakespeare's lifetime, in 1609, by a Flemish artist, who has been conjecturally identified with the engraver's uncle, also called Martin Droeshout.'

Speaking of the painting in the Memorial Gallery, Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence says :—

> ' As a matter of fact there is no " Droeshout " painting. The picture falsely so called is a manifest forgery and a palpable fraud.'

So we have these two authorities expressing diametrically opposite views.

I lay no claim to being an art critic, so I express no opinion on the matter except this, that the proportion of the head to the body and the impossible collar are not favourable to the view that the picture is a genuine portrait painted from life. It has never been suggested that Shaksper of Stratford was a monstrosity.

There are two alternatives. Either the picture is a genuine portrait and, as Sir Sidney Lee suggests, Droeshout in making his print used it as a model, or else the Droeshout print was made first and the picture is a more recent adaptation made from the print. It is not important whether the painting is genuine or not, except that if it is genuine it strengthens the Baconian contention that Shaksper of Stratford was not the author of the plays. I will consider the matter on the assumption that the painting is genuine and was used as a model when the print was made.

The fact that Droeshout, that is the younger Droeshout, was only fifteen years old when Shaksper of Stratford died and only ten years old when he left London for good, makes it very improbable that the print could have been made from life. But he would have had his uncle's picture to work from, and he worked from it in this way. He does not copy it ; he alters it. He keeps the general outline of the portrait, the expressionless face, the enormous head (making it, however, a little less like a vegetable-marrow and a little more like an ostrich's egg), the diminutive body, and the impossible collar ; but he turns the enormous head into a mask, and gives the diminutive body two left arms, making the print what I have called a put-up job, and clearly showing that Shaksper of Stratford, if the picture before him was really his portrait, was not the author of the plays in the First Folio. If he had been the author, Droeshout would have copied the portrait. Acting, as I believe, under instructions, he made the print an absurdity, and drew attention to the second or hidden meaning of the verses 'To the Reader.'

The monument in Stratford Church has also been regarded as another of Shaksper of Stratford's title-deeds

to his own property. This title-deed is well worth consideration.

Nobody knows when or by whom the monument was erected. It was mentioned for the first time in the First Folio ; that is, seven years after Shaksper of Stratford's death. I do not infer from this that it was not erected before 1623, although it has been suggested that it was put up as an additional hoodwink to the public when the First Folio was published ; but to my mind one thing is fairly certain, namely, that the monument that existed in 1623 and is referred to in the First Folio is not the monument that now stands in Stratford Church : I mean not the same in its entirety. The reasons for coming to this conclusion are deduced from the following facts, which as far as I know are not disputed.

In Sir William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, published in 1656, there is a print of the Stratford monument. In Rowe's *Life of Shakespeare*, published in 1709, there is also a print of the monument. In 1746 ' the original monument was much impared and decayed,' a sum of £12, 10s. was collected by means of a performance of *Othello* and handed over for the purpose of making the necessary repairs, and in 1748 a Stratford man of the name of Hall was directed ' to repair and beautify, or to have the direction of repairing and beautifying the original monument of Shakespeare the poet.'

Reproductions of the Dugdale print and of the Rowe print and also a half-tone print of the monument as it now appears will be found in *Bacon is Shakespeare*. I now compare the Dugdale print with the existing monument, taking only one or two of the most prominent features.

In the print the two nude figures at the top sit with their legs dangling over the edge. One figure holds a spade and the other an hour-glass. In the existing monument the figures sit curled up on a sort of rock. One holds a spade and the other what looks like an inverted torch.

In the print there is a lion's mask at the top of each column. In the monument there are no lions' masks.

The most important difference is in the figures them-

selves, that is, in the portraits of the deceased person. The faces are not those of the same individual. They do not resemble each other in the slightest degree. The face in the print is the face of a man. The face in the monument is that of a wooden doll, with the staring eyes of a wooden doll. In the print the figure wears a sort of shirt and sleeves with a cross-hatch pattern on it and has a kind of open waistcoat over it. In the existing monument the figure is clothed in a gown, which might be either that of a divine or a Master of Arts. In the print the hands are placed on a sack, which the figure hugs to his stomach. In the existing monument the sack is changed to a cushion, the cushion is placed horizontally so as to form a writing desk, the right hand holds a pen and the left hand a sheet of writing paper. These last three differences are most important. There is nothing in the print to show that the deceased person was in any way connected with literature. In the existing monument the writing desk, the pen, and the sheet of writing paper show that the deceased person was connected with literature.

Rowe's print of 1709, with the exception of the face, resembles Dugdale's print. The nude figures are similar, the lions' heads are there, the shirt and the open waistcoat are similar, and the hands and the sack are similar. There is no writing desk, no pen, and no sheet of paper.

I suppose Andrew Lang may be taken as an exponent of the Shaksperian view on this matter. He endeavoured to explain the dissimilarity between the Dugdale print and the existing monument at Stratford by saying that the prints in Dugdale's book were not accurate. Granting this, and granting even that the artist may not have made his drawing on the spot, but looked at the monument and then went away and made his drawing at home, how does this account for the differences? It might possibly account for the ridiculous position of the nude figures; it is hard to think it could account for the great difference in the costume; it is harder still to think it could account for the addition of the hour-glass and the lions' masks; faulty drawing might possibly account for the upright

position of the sack, but nothing could possibly account for the omission of the pen and the sheet of writing paper. The main reason why Dugdale should want to have a print of the monument in his book would be because Shaksper of Stratford was supposed to be a great author, and the only things in the monument, other than the inscription, that show he was in any way connected with literature are the writing desk, the pen, and the sheet of paper. Next to the face they are the prominent features of the monument. They would be the first objects the artist would notice and the last he would forget if he ever saw them there. He could not have forgotten them, and I feel certain he did not forget them, because they were not there for him to see. I believe the pen and the sheet of paper were among the items added by Hall in 1748 when ' repairing and beautifying the original monument.' The words in inverted commas are very suggestive.

In Andrew Lang's book is a reproduction of Virtue's print of the monument, published in 1725. In this print the figure holds a pen in the right hand and a sheet of writing paper in the left hand ; but a glance at this print will show at once that the figure is not drawn from any monument, but from some picture or print. Mr. Lang himself suggests that it was taken from the Chandos portrait. One might almost think that Virtue's print suggested to Hall the alterations that he made, or that were made under his direction, in 1748.

Mr. Lang said that £12, 10s. would be a small payment for altering the monument to its present state if it was originally like Dugdale's print, and suggested that it was merely repaired and repainted. On the other hand, £12, 10s. seems a large sum to have paid in 1748 for small repairs and repainting. The £12, 10s. was raised in 1746 and the ' repairing and beautifying ' was not done till two years afterwards. May it not be that the £12, 10s. was only the nucleus of a larger fund subscribed during these two years, and may not Hall, as a Stratford man, have contributed to that fund by doing some work gratis as his contribution to the memory of his townsman ? I make this suggestion in fear and

trembling, for Shaksperians say Baconians assume so much, forgetting that ninety-nine per cent. of their Lives of Shaksper of Stratford is pure assumption.

Andrew Lang endeavoured to get over the difficulty of the similarity between the Dugdale print and the Rowe print by saying that the Rowe print was copied from the Dugdale print. This was an assumption on his part. Surely Rowe, in writing a Life of Shaksper of Stratford, would not have copied a print from another book without some reference to the fact, or without satisfying himself that the print was correct. But I contend that he did not copy the print, as shown by the fact that he made the face different.

Mr. Lang said in his book :—

> 'I do not quote what Halliwell-Phillipps tells us about the repairing of the forefinger and thumb of the right hand, and the pen ; work which, he says, had to be renewed by William Roberts of Oxford in 1790. He gives no authority, and Baconians may say he was hoaxed, or "lied with circumstance."'

I, for one, do not say this. I have already stated what I think of Halliwell-Phillipps' book. It is quite immaterial what happened in 1790. I do not doubt that there was a pen then, but I think it was put there in 1748. The term 'repairing and beautifying' is very comprehensive.

The main facts are these. There are two prints of the monument in existence, one published in 1656 and the other in 1709, and they both agree with each other except in the case of the face. In 1748 the original monument was 'repaired and beautified,' and is now different from what it was represented to be in the two prints.

I think that Shaksper of Stratford's title-deeds to his own property as constituted in the monument in Stratford Church are no better than his title-deeds to his own property as constituted in the Droeshout print and the verses 'To the Reader' in the First Folio. I believe that the Stratford monument has been gradually built up to its existing state in the same way that the Life of Shaksper of Stratford has been gradually built up by his successive biographers.

As I am on the subject of Shaksper of Stratford's monument at Stratford I may as well add a few words about Bacon's monument in the Church of St. Michael near St. Albans.

What I may call the second paragraph of the inscription on the monument to Bacon is :—

QUI POSTQUAM OMNIA NATURALIS SAPIENTIA
ET CIVILIS ARCANA EVOLVISSET
NATURÆ DECRETUM EXPLEVIT
COMPOSITA SOLVANTUR.

This is translated in the *Biographia Britannica* as follows :—

> ' Who after all natural Wisdom, and Secrets of Civil Life he had unfolded, Nature's law fulfilled—*Let Compounds be dissolved !* '

The words ' Composita Solvantur ' are strange. The previous line ' Naturæ Decretum Explevit ' completes the sense of the inscription and the words ' Let compounds be dissolved ' only repeat what has been said previously. The phrase seems unnecessary.

But the verb ' compono ' has many other meanings besides ' to compound,' including among them ' to feign ' ; so the word ' composita ' may mean ' feignings ' or ' deceptions ' ; and the verb ' solvo ' has other meanings besides ' to dissolve,' including ' to explain ' or ' to solve ' ; so the phrase ' Composita Solvantur ' may be translated, ' Let feignings be solved ' or ' Let deceptions be explained.'

In *Bacon is Shakespeare* reproductions of two title pages are given that contain portraits of Francis Bacon. The first is the title page of the *Cryptographic Book* published in 1624 under the name of Gustavus Selenus, ' the man in the moon.' The second is the title page of Bacon's *De Augmentis* published by Gruter at Leyden in 1645. Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence deduces certain conclusions from them which I will endeavour to describe shortly, beginning with the *Cryptographic Book*.

Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence directs the reader's attention to Camden's *Remains*, published in 1616, the year of Shaksper of Stratford's death, and says we may

conclude that Bacon had a hand in the production of this book, as Spedding informs us that he assisted Camden in his *Annales*. The chapter on Surnames in Camden's *Remains* commences with an ornamental heading that is printed upside down, which Sir Edwin says was a trick continually resorted to when some disclosure concerning Bacon was to be given. He points out that the chapter on Surnames begins on page 106. Reading on in this book he finds on page 121 a village mentioned of the name of 'Bacon Creping.' He says there never was a village called 'Bacon Creping.' On page 128 he finds 'such names as Shakespeare, Shotbolt, Wagstaffe.' The importance of this conjunction of names he points out afterwards.

The title page of the *Cryptographic Book* consists of four pictures. The left-hand picture shows a gentleman, who Sir Edwin says is Bacon, handing his writing to a man who is obviously an actor, for he wear's actor's boots. This man holds a spear in his left hand, which shows that he is a Shake-spear, and Sir Edwin says that to do a thing left-handedly is to do it secretly. The man has a sprig of bay in his hat. In the middle distance this man is seen walking away, and on his back is a bundle containing the writings that the gentleman has handed to him. He still carries the spear in his left hand, but he has a staff in his right hand. So he is now not only a Shake-spear but also a Wag-staff. In the sky at the top of the picture is a bird with a scroll in its beak and with feet that are not bird's claws but Jupiter's lightnings, and near it is what appears to be an arrow. But it is too short for an arrow ; it is a bolt that has been shot. The bird is 'the eagle of great verse,' and is about to give the scroll to the Shot-bolt.

In the right-hand picture of the title page we see the man to whom the writings have been handed spurring through the country on a horse and blowing his trumpet. That he is the same man as the one in the left-hand picture is shown by the sprig of bay in his hat. He has discarded the spear, but has a large spur on his heel. He is no longer a Shake-spear, he is a Shake-spur.

These two pictures illustrate the conjunction of 'such

names as Shakespeare, Shotbolt, Wagstaffe ' in Camden's *Remains*. The plays might just as well have been brought out under the name of Shotbolt or Wagstaffe as under the name of Shakespeare, if there had happened to be a suitable ' Instrument ' of that name.

The top picture of the title page, which Sir Edwin says is enclosed in the magic circle of the imagination and surrounded by the masks of Tragedy, Comedy, and Farce, shows a boat on a troubled sea approaching a town lighted up with beacon lights. Sir Edwin says it represents *The Tempest*, and that it tells us the play is filled with Bacon lights. He adds that in the sixteenth century beacon and Bacon were pronounced in the same way.

The picture at the bottom of the title page, which Sir Edwin describes as being placed within the ' four square corners of fact ' and as surrounded with disguised masks of Tragedy, Comedy, and Farce, shows the same gentleman who handed his works to the Shake-spear engaged in writing, while an over-dressed actor, in ' glaring satten sute ' and wearing a mask and an impossible collar, lifts from the real author's head a cap known in heraldry as the ' Cap of Maintenance.'

The actor depicted in this title page corresponds with the actor described in *The Return from Parnassus* as ' a glorious vagabond that carried his fardel on his back, rode on a courser, and sooped it in his glaring satten sute.'

In the title page to *De Augmentis*, before mentioned, Bacon is seen seated with an open book in front of him. With his right hand, which is in full light, he points to the open book, and with his left hand, which is in shadow, he puts forward a figure holding in its left hand a closed and clasped book, which by the cross lines on its side, the accepted symbol of a mirror, shows that it represents the mirror up to nature ; that is, the Shakespeare plays. The figure is clothed in a goat skin and has a false breast ; which shows that he is an actor connected with tragedy. Sir Edwin claims that this print shows that another part of Bacon's *Great Instauration*, now known as the Shakespeare plays, was issued left-handedly, that is secretly, under a name similar to that of Shaksper of Stratford.

Edwin Reed in his *Francis Bacon our Shakespeare* gives a somewhat different interpretation of this print.

When Bacon died he left his papers to his executors with instructions to seal them up until they had time to peruse them. Some time after Sir William Boswell, one of the executors, took these papers to The Hague and handed them to Isaac Gruter for publication. Later on some of these papers were published, but others that Gruter appears to have considered to be important were, at Boswell's request apparently, kept back, although Gruter was anxious that they should 'see the light and not be stifled in their birth.' Edwin Reed contends that the copy of Bacon's *Cogitata et Visa* found in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1857, shows that the fourth part of Bacon's *Great Instauration* is the Shakespeare plays and seems to suggest that the papers kept back by Gruter would have been confirmatory evidence of this. His explanation of the print is that Bacon with his right hand is pointing to his acknowledged works, but with his left hand is restraining the figure from carrying the clasped book (*i.e.* the fourth part of the *Instauratio Magna*) to the Temple of Fame that is situated on a distant height, and that this represents 'the restraint exercised upon Gruter in his desire to publish some literary secret about Bacon.'

Edwin Reed's arguments as to the *Cogitata et Visa* are not of a cryptographic nature, and are well worth consideration.

SOME DEDUCTIONS FROM PRINTING

Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence in *Bacon is Shakespeare* says that Bacon had a numerical system of writing which was composed in the following way. He took A=1, B=2, C=3, and so on down to Z=24, I and J being regarded as one letter and =9, and U and V being regarded as one letter and =20. The alphabet was therefore taken as consisting of 24 letters only.

In order to make the system clear I take the name of Bacon and apply the system to it. We have B=2, A=1, C=3, O=14, and N=13. Adding up we get 2+1+3+14 +13=33. Therefore the name Bacon is represented by the number 33, and conversely the number 33 represents Bacon.

I will begin by applying this numerical system of writing to the words over Droeshout's print in the First Folio, which are :—

' Mr William
Shakespeare's
Comedies
Histories &
Tragedies.'

The final ' s ' in ' Shakespeare's ' denotes the possessive and means that the comedies, histories, and tragedies are the works of Mr. William Shakespeare.

If we apply the numerical system we shall find that ' Mr. William Shakespeare ' is numerically equal to 206, and we shall also find that 206 expresses ' Lord Fra. Bacon ' in numerical writing. It follows from this that ' The Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies of Mr William Shakespeare ' is in numerical writing the same as ' The Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies of Lord Fra. Bacon.'

If we turn to Ben Jonson's verses to the Author in the First Folio we find that they are headed :—

' To the memory of my beloved
The AVTHOR
Mr WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.'

Here again ' The Author Mr William Shakespeare ' is in numerical writing the same as ' The Author Lord Fra. Bacon.' I wish to draw attention to the fact that the words ' The Author ' are printed in very large type. It looks as though Ben Jonson wished to give notice that his verses were addressed more to the Author of the plays than to Mr. William Shakespeare.

I do not wish to give undue importance to the numerical system of writing. I should not like to state definitely that in my opinion there is no cryptogram in the First Folio, but I have a prejudice against anything of a cryptographic nature. Moreover, a cryptogram is not necessary to prove Bacon's responsibility for the Shakespeare plays within the limits I have previously mentioned. Literary and historical inquiry, with the addition of a little common sense, is quite sufficient. It may be that Bacon put some hints in the First Folio; but if he did, I do not think he did so with any idea of bringing about any great revelation in future years, as Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence suggests. He must have known that many people whose opinions were of value to him were aware of the part he had taken in the plays, and he would not care much about the opinions of οἱ πολλοί. If he put any hints in his writings, either by means of the numerical system of writing or by means of ornamental headings, it is far more likely that he did so because he was a man who, as Jonson said, could not pass by a jest. Still, the results drawn from applying the numerical system to the First Folio, although they may merely be owing to chance or meant as a jest, are so numerous and some of them so strange, that I think they are worth mentioning.

I have said that Bacon is represented by the number 33. Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence says this was too obvious and that the number 53 was substituted for it. 53 is the

numerical value of ' Sow.' Before proceeding with this number 53 it will be well to give the following anecdote, which will be found in Bacon's 36th Apothegm.

> ' Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, being appointed a judge for the Northern Circuit, and having brought his Trials that came before him to such a pass, as the passing of sentence on Malefactors, he was by one of the Malefactors mightily importuned for to save his life, which when nothing that he had said did avail, he at length desired his mercy on the account of kindred : Prethee said my Lord Judge, how came that in ? Why, if it please you my Lord, your name is *Bacon* and mine is *Hog*, and in all ages *Hog* and *Bacon* have been so near kindred, that they are not to be separated. *I but* replied Judge *Bacon, you and I cannot be kindred except you be hanged ; for* Hog *is not* Bacon *until it be well hanged.*'

If there is anything in the discovery that Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence claims to have made, we ought to find some reference to Bacon hidden away somewhere, but pointed out by the number 53.

The First Folio is in three parts. It is divided into comedies, histories, and tragedies, and each part is separately paged. The pages of the comedies are numbered from 1 to 303, the histories from 1 to 232—*Troilus and Cressida* comes at the end of the series and is not paged except in two cases—and the tragedies from 1 to 399 ; which last is printed backwards as 993. The result is that there are three pages numbered 53.

The first page 53 brings us to *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act IV. Scene i., where Evans, a Welshman brought in apparently so as to pronounce a ' c ' like a ' g,' says in the second column :—

> ' I pray you have your remembrance (child), accusativo hing, hang, hog,'

to which Mistress Quickly replies :—

> ' Hang-hog is latten for Bacon, I warrant you.'

It should be noticed that Bacon is printed with a capital ' B,' and that we are told that ' Hang-hog ' means Bacon.

The second page 53 brings us to Act II. Scene i. of *Henry IV.*, Part I. Two carriers are talking and the first one says :—

> ' What, Ostler, come away, and be hang'd : come away,'

to which the second carrier replies :—

> 'I have a gammon of Bacon, and two razes of ginger, to be delivered as far as Charing-crosse.'

Here again it should be noticed that Bacon is printed with a capital 'B.' It should also be noticed that the page numbered 53 is not really the 53rd page, as there are no pages 47 or 48.

On the third page 53 we shall find no reference to Bacon, no hog, no pig, no sow, nor anything of the kind. Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence is not surprised at this. He expects to find the third reference on an invisible page 53, so he turns to the last page, which as I have said is page 399 but has been printed reversed as 993. He says the *Cryptograph Book* tells us that 993 forms the word 'Baconus.' I do not know how he arrived at this result, but I have applied the numerical system of writing to the number 993 and find that it gives 'William Shakespeare is Francis Bacon Lord Verulam Viscount St Alban the Author.' I have also applied the system to the number 399, the number with which the page ought to be numbered, and get as a result 'Francis Bacon.' I have also applied the system to 303, the number on the last page of the comedies, and get as a result 'Francis Bacon Shakespeare.' I have also applied the system to 232, the number on the last page of the histories, and get as a result 'Francis Bacon St Alban.'

From this last page Sir Edwin counts back fifty-three pages and this brings us to page 346, which contains a part of the play of *Antony and Cleopatra*. Near the bottom of the first column we find :—

> 'Enobar. Or if you borrow one another's Love for the instant, you may when you heare no more words of Pompey return it againe : you shall have time to wrangle in ; when you have nothing else to do.
>
> Auth. Thou art a Souldier, onely speake no more.
>
> Enob. That trueth should be silent, I had almost forgot.'

Here it should be noticed that 'Pompey,' 'in,' and 'got,' by the way in which the type is arranged come directly under each other, and that their initial letters spell 'Pig.' It should also be noticed that Enobarbus

is printed ' Enobar ' in the first line of the above extract and ' Enob ' in the last line but one. This enables the letters ' P,' ' i ' and ' g ' to be brought into their existing position. I may add that I have applied the numerical system of writing to the number 346, the number of the page, and get the result, ' Lord Francis Bacon.'

Sir Edwin then says :—

> ' If we count the head line title and all the lines that come to the left-hand edge of the column on this page 346, we find that " Pompey " which begins the word " pig " is upon the 43rd line.'

This leads him to further investigations on the number 43. But there are two other things that point to the number 43 that he does not seem to have noticed. The first is that the phrase ' Hang-hog is latten for Bacon ' is in the 43rd line of the first page 53, and the second that, omitting all lines that have italics in them, the words ' gammon of Bacon ' are in the 43rd line of the second page 53.

Sir Edwin then turns to the first page of the First Folio and finds the following in the first column :—

> ' Stand fast good Fate to his hanging, make the rope of his destiny our cable, for our owne doth little advantage : If he be not borne to be hang'd, our case is miserable.

He observes that reading upwards from ' hang'd ' and using the ' h ' twice, we have ' hang'd hog.' He points out that including the titles the word ' hang'd ' is on the 43rd line, and that the ' g ' at the beginning of the second line of the above extract is there only owing to the improper division of the word ' hanging,' which is divided ' han-ging ' instead of the proper way ' hang-ing.'

He then turns to the first 43rd page of the First Folio and on the 43rd line of the second column finds :—

> ' Mis Page. What 's the matter, woman ?
> Mi Ford. O woman if it were not for one trifling respect, I could come to such honour.
> Mi Page. Hang the trifle (woman) take the honour.'

Here reading the initial letters of each line upwards from ' Hang,' he gets ' Hang sow.'

I think I have said enough about this branch of the numerical system. Any one who wishes to follow the matter further can do so for himself. If he does this he

will find strange phrases such as ' Bacon-fed knaves ' and ' On, Bacons, on,' with the word ' Bacon ' printed with a capital ' B.' I will only say that Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence claims to have found Bacon's signature under the term ' Hang'd hog ' on the first page of the First Folio and in the number 993 in the last page. He also claims to have found various references to Bacon in other parts under such terms as ' gammon of Bacon,' ' Pig,' ' Hang-hog is latten for Bacon,' ' Hang sow,' and so on, and he has been led to find them by an application of the numerical system of writing.

He has also deduced some extremely strange results from the first 136th page of the First Folio. I mention them as briefly as possible.

On the 27th line of this page appears the word ' Honorificabilitudinitatibus.' Out of this long word Sir Edwin makes the hexameter :—

' Hi Ludi F. Baconis Nati Tuiti Orbi,'

which he translates :—

' These plays F. Bacon's offspring are preserved for the world.'

He then proceeds to apply Bacon's system of numerical writing to this sentence. He first takes the initial and the final letters of each word and finds that their numerical value is 136 ; that is, the number of the page of the First Folio in which the long word appears. He then takes the numerical value of the remaining intermediate letters of each word, and finds that it is 151. The long word is the 151st word on the page in ordinary type. He points out that there are 27 letters in the long word, and that it appears on the 27th line of the 136th page.

One would have thought this was enough ; but the ingenious writer has more to say. The numerical value of ' Bacon ' is 33, and Sir Edwin tells us that in several publications pages numbered 33 contain references to Bacon. On line 31 of this page we find :—

' What is Ab speld backward with the horn on his head ? '

The answer given is :—

' Ba, puericia, with a horne added.'

The boy jeers at the answer with the remark :—

'Ba most seely sheepe, with a horne : You heare his learning.'

Sir Edwin says the answer is obviously wrong, and that it ought to have been given in Latin. It would then have been :—

'Ba corn-u seely sheepe.'

The line 'Ba most seely sheepe, with a horne' is the 33rd line of the page.

Later on in the page is :—

'Quis quis, thou consonant ?'

This means, 'Who, who ?' or, in other words, 'Which Bacon ?' and the reply is that the answer will be found in the five vowels, 'a, e, I, o, u.' The 'a,' 'e,' 'o,' and 'u' are printed in small type and the 'I' as a capital letter, showing that we are to take 'a' and 'e' together, and then start afresh with 'I' and 'o' and go on to 'o' and 'u,' as will be explained directly.

Sir Edwin then turns to page 254 of the *Cryptographic Book* before mentioned ; the reason given for referring to this particular page being that if we deduct 33, the numerical value of 'Bacon,' from 287, the numerical value of the long word, the remainder is 254.

On page 254 of the *Cryptographic Book* is the following table :—

	A	E	I	O	V
A	b	f	l	p	t
E	c	g	m	q	u
I	d	h	n	r	x
O	e	i	o	s	a

If we examine this table we shall see, taking the vowels in the vertical column first, that 'a' followed by 'e' is 'F,' that 'I' followed by 'o' is 'r,' and that 'o' followed by 'u' is 'a.' Consequently the Bacon referred to is Fra. Bacon, which as previously stated is a way in which Francis Bacon sometimes signed his name.

On the subject of the phrases 'Ba, puericia, with a horne added,' 'Ba most seely sheepe, with a horne,' and 'Ba corn-u seely sheepe,' it may be noticed that in the ornamental headings in the First Folio to the Dedication, to the Catalogue of plays, and to *The Tempest*, there are horned sheep, and in the ornamental headings to Hugh Holland's verses, and to the list of actors in *Henry V.*, there is a sheep's head without horns, and a sheaf of corn.

The discoveries that Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence claims to have made in the 136th page of the First Folio come shortly to this. The long word gives 'Hi Ludi F. Baconis Nati Tuiti Orbi,' it gives the number of the page in which it appears, and it gives its own number in the words of the page. Line 33 gives Bacon's name, and a little further on it is shown that the Bacon referred to is Francis Bacon. But I think that some of these alleged discoveries must be given up, and I have only mentioned them because when *Bacon is Shakespeare* was published some time ago they were the subject of considerable discussion.

Competent Latin scholars say that Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence's hexameter would make Bacon turn in his grave, and that Bacon never latinised his name 'Baco' with genitive 'Baconis'; but always 'Baconus' with genitive 'Baconi'; so I think Sir Edwin's hexameter must be rejected, together with all deductions founded on it. This will not be a serious loss; for although it may be ingenious, by applying the numerical system of writing to the initial and final letters and to the remaining intermediate letters of each word of the hexameter, to point out the obvious fact that the long word appears on page 136, and is the 151st word on the page in ordinary type, it does not add anything to the Baconian cause. Nor is

anything gained by pointing out the fact that the long word contains 27 letters and is printed on the 27th line of the page.

However, what Sir Edwin claims to have found out in the various lines 33, 43, and 53, may be a different matter. All that he points out about them may remain, and may be regarded as evidence by those who believe that there is writing of a cryptographic nature in the First Folio.

What struck me on reading *Bacon is Shakespeare* was that there was nothing to draw anybody's attention to page 136 more than to any other page, except perhaps that a piece of pedantic schoolmanship that has nothing to do with the play is brought in for no apparent reason. It seemed to me that there ought to be something more than this, and I tried to see if I could find it.

As the question related to the number of a page, I decided to try what could be done by means of the numerical system, and after some thinking found that 136 expressed 'Lord Fra. Bacon,' that 'Wm. Shakespeare' was numerically equal to 136, and that 'Bacon-Shakespeare' was numerically equal to 136. I also noticed the following. There are ten lines in Ben Jonson's verses 'To the Reader.' If we count the letters in the first five lines we shall find that their number is 136, and if we count the letters in the last five lines we shall find that their number is also 136. There are, therefore, five things that point to page 136; namely, the name of Bacon the reviser of the plays; the name of the *nom de plume* under which, as I hold, Bacon wrote; the joint name made up of the surnames of the reviser and his *nom de plume*; the number of letters in the first five lines of Ben Jonson's verses 'To the Reader'; and the number of letters in the last five lines of the same verses.

W. F. C. Wigston in *Hermes Stella*, by comparing together the 36th Apothegm on page 228 (Part I.) of the *Resuscitatio* published in 1671 and certain parts of the First Folio, namely, columns 106 and 107 of the comedies, and columns 101, 104, 106, 107, and 99 of the tragedies, has produced some striking results which it would be difficult to explain as being due to chance. His deductions could

not well be epitomised so as to be incorporated in these Notes. Any one interested in the subject should read the book. I am not aware whether any effort has ever been made by the Shaksperians to answer it.

Sir Sidney Lee considers that the First Folio was hastily printed off without adequate supervision. Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, on the other hand, is of opinion 'that there are no misprints or errors in the First Folio, 1623, because the great author was alive, and most carefully arranged every column in every page, and every word in every column, so that we should find every word exactly where we do find such particular word.'

It is not for me to express any opinion on the divergent views of these two authorities; so I will end Part II. of these Notes by remarking that :—

> 'Two authorities each a book did write.
> Each thought he was right. Both were certain : Quite.
> To say who was wrong would be wrong of me,
> And hard on E. D. or Sir Sidney Lee.'

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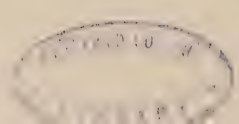

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